

1887

# **Apartheid**

its effects on  
education  
science  
culture  
and information

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Apartheid

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# Preface

The racial policies of the Government of the Union, now the Republic of South Africa have been before the United Nations since the first session of the General Assembly in 1946. India, in that year, brought before the Assembly a complaint that the Government of South Africa had enacted legislation which discriminated against South Africans of Indian origin. Since then the racial policies of the Government of South Africa have been under consideration by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Resolutions passed by the General Assembly reflect the mounting concern of world opinion about the racial situation within South Africa and the frustration occasioned by the refusal of the government to respond to the repeated appeals by the United Nations that its racial policies should be brought into conformity with the United Nations Charter. Resolution 395 (V) of the General Assembly, 2 December 1950, states that 'a policy of "racial segregation" (Apartheid) is necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination'. In 1954, the Assembly 'invited' the Government of South Africa to reconsider its position in the light of the principles of the Charter. In 1955, the Assembly 'expressed its concern' about the policies of the South African Government. In 1957, it 'appealed' to the government to revise its policy and Resolution 1375 (XIV), 17 November 1959, reminded it that 'government policies which accentuate or seek to preserve racial discrimination are prejudicial to international harmony', noted 'with concern that the policy of apartheid is still being pursued' and 'expressed its opposition to the continuance or preservation of racial discrimination in any part of the world; . . . '.

In August 1963, the Security Council recommended that the sale and shipment of all arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South

Africa should stop. This followed a more comprehensive resolution, 1761 (XVII), adopted by the General Assembly in November 1962, which asked Member States to take specific measures, such as breaking off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa or refraining from establishing such relations and the boycott of all South African goods. These recommendations were not, however, mandatory. At the same session, the General Assembly also established a special committee which would keep the situation in South Africa under review between sessions of the Assembly and would submit reports to this Assembly and to the Security Council.

In Resolution 1978 (XVIII), 16 December 1963, the General Assembly 'invites the Specialized Agencies and all Member States to give to the Special Committee their assistance and co-operation in the fulfilment of its mandate'. In conformity with this resolution, the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid in South Africa, through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on 20 April 1965, requested Unesco 'to prepare a study on the effects of Apartheid in the fields of Education, Science and Culture'. This request was accepted by the Executive Board of Unesco, meeting at its 70th Session when it 'authorized' the Director-General to 'prepare the study requested of Unesco by the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa...<sup>1</sup> The decision of the Executive Board was in conformity with Unesco's responsibilities in the fields of racial discrimination as inscribed in its Constitution.

This report on the 'Effects of the Policy of Apartheid in the fields of Education, Science, Culture and the Dissemination of Information<sup>2</sup> in South Africa' was therefore undertaken by the Unesco Secretariat for submission to the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

Its object is to confront the policies and practices of the Government of the Republic of South Africa in the fields of education, science, culture and the dissemination of information with a number of international norms of conduct to which Unesco is legally and morally dedicated:

- 
1. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 70 Ex. Decisions, Paris, 4 June 1965.
  2. It was considered that the report should cover all the fields of competence of the Organization, and consequently it includes an appraisal of the effects of the policy of apartheid on the dissemination of information, as well as on education, science and culture.



## The Constitution of Unesco:

### 'Article 1

The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion.'

## The United Nations Charter:

### 'Article 1

The purposes of the United Nations are:

3. To achieve international co-operation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

### 'Article 55

. . . the United Nations shall promote:

- . . . c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.'

## The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948):

### 'Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

### 'Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.'

[Other articles will be quoted in the relevant chapters of this study.]

## The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1963-1965)

## The Unesco Convention and Recommendations against Discrimination in Education (1960)

The Unesco Declaration of the Principle of International Cultural Co-operation (4 November 1966)

Lastly, insofar as the biological aspects of race have a bearing on the questions dealt with in this report, *The proposals on the Biological Aspects of Race*, adopted in Moscow (1964) under the auspices of Unesco, which stated:

'The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for obtaining any civilizational level. Differences in the achievements of different peoples must be attributed solely to their cultural history. . . . Neither in the field of hereditary potentialities concerning the overall intelligence and the capacity for cultural development nor in that of physical traits, is there any justification for the concept of "inferior" and "superior" races. . . '

The sources used for the preparation of this report have been various official texts (laws, regulations, parliamentary debates, etc.) of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, and reports from other organizations of the United Nations' system (The Special Committee of the United Nations on the Policy of Apartheid and the International Labour Organisation). Various publications relevant to apartheid and published by scientific and research institutions both in South Africa and outside have also been utilized, as well as information published in the press, and some unpublished information emanating from personalities—scientists and university people having a direct knowledge of the conditions in which the policy of apartheid is applied in South Africa and whose competence and objectivity, in the judgement of the Secretariat, may not be doubted.

In one specific field—that of the consequences of the policy of apartheid on culture, the opinions of South African authors on the conditions of writing and on the problems of creative literature in a society governed by apartheid have been quoted.

In the preparation of the report, the Secretariat was able to obtain the assistance of Professor Folke Schmidt, University of Stockholm, Sweden (Chief Consultant); J. P. Clark, Nigerian poet and playwright, University of Lagos; Professor P. Sherlock, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica; and Professor F. Terrou, Institut Français de Presse, Paris, consultants, respectively, in the fields of culture, education and information. However, views ex-



pressed in this report do not necessarily reflect their opinion; they commit only the Secretariat of Unesco.

Although South Africa withdrew from Unesco in 1955,<sup>1</sup> the Director-General proposed through the Secretary-General of the United Nations that Professor Folke Schmidt (Sweden), employed by Unesco as Chief Consultant during the preparation of this report, be granted a visa to visit the Republic of South Africa in order to collect data and to check all official source material. This request was not accepted by the South African Government.

This report was submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 30 December 1966 and transmitted by the latter to the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid in South Africa on 11 January 1967. On 6 February 1967 the Secretary-General of the United Nations communicated to the Director-General of Unesco copy of a letter dated 3 February 1967 from the acting chairman of the Special Committee in which transmittal of the report was acknowledged on behalf of the Special Committee and reference made to a statement to the press issued on 18 January 1967 by its chairman which reads as follows:

'A special study by the Unesco Secretariat on "the effects of the policy of apartheid on education, culture and information" has been submitted to the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and made public today. This study has been prepared in response to a request made by the Special Committee in April 1965 in discharge of its mandate to review the various aspects of the policies of apartheid.

'On behalf of the Special Committee, I wish to congratulate and express our great appreciation to the Director-General and the secretariat of Unesco for preparing such a comprehensive and authoritative study.

'This well-documented study shows, through undisputable facts and figures, the fraudulence of the so-called policy of "separate development", advertised by the peddlers of apartheid and their apologists.

'It shows how the apartheid regime has deliberately depressed the educational standards of the non-Whites, who constitute the great

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1. On 5 April 1955, it gave notice of its withdrawal from the Organization, the reason given being 'the interference in South African racial problems by means of Unesco publications which are being advertised and distributed in the Union by the South African Institute of Race Relations'. *Report by the Director-General on the Activities of the Organization*, 42nd session of the Executive Board, March-November 1955.

majority of the sons and daughters of the land, and has proved to be an enemy of culture and of civilization.

'It shows clearly that a racist regime can never be trusted with its promises of ensuring the satisfaction of even the material and cultural needs of its subjects.

'This study deserves to be widely disseminated all around the world and studied by all those concerned with the progress of education, science, culture and information. The Special Committee will lend its full co-operation to Unesco towards this end and hopes that governments, non-governmental organizations and information media will give the contents of the study the widest circulation.

'It is to be earnestly hoped that this study will encourage governments, organizations, foundations and individuals to consider ways and means to provide assistance to the victims of the inhuman system of racial discrimination. The United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Education and Training Programme for South Africans, as well as non-governmental funds like the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Southern Africa Education Fund, deserve greater support.

'But, above all, it is to be hoped that the study will encourage more energetic and concerted efforts by world public opinion to promote decisive action for the elimination of apartheid which is recognized by the United Nations and Unesco as constituting a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.'

The text now published is, with minor editorial changes and a few additional statistical data, the same as the one transmitted to the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid in South Africa.

In this report, the term 'White' is used for people of European stock. The term 'African' replaces the word 'Bantu' which is at present used by the South African Government to designate people of African stock, except in direct quotations where, if the word 'Bantu' was originally used, it is retained. The term 'Asian' is used for people of Chinese or Indian descent, and 'Coloured' for those of mixed European and African or Asian background. The use of these terms 'White', 'African', 'Asian' and 'Coloured', has been unavoidable because of the nature of apartheid itself. However the Secretariat rejects the concepts of race and of ethnic group relations that such terms imply.



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# Introduction

South Africa, a society in which Africans, Asians and Europeans co-exist in the same territory, has been the result of a long history going back to the first European settlement in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. It is a history not only of prolonged contact (some of it friendly) between these groups of people, but also a history of conflict over land and cattle at first, then over industrial opportunities when towns grew up. There were also conflicts between the Boers, descendants of the first Dutch settlers, and the English-speaking South African—conflicts which terminated in the Boer War and the defeat of the Dutch-speaking Afrikaner by the English colonizers. About the mid-twentieth century then, the ingredients of the present alarming South African situation were all present—the rivalry between the Afrikaner and the English-speaking South Africans which split the White population into two main groups, the suspicion and fear which most of the White group felt for Africans who were numerically stronger, against whom they had fought a series of wars and whom they had traditionally treated as a source of cheap labour. There was also the Coloured group formed from a mixture of White, Hottentot and Malay elements and an Asian group brought to South Africa in the nineteenth century as labour for the new sugar plantations in Natal.

At the end of the Second World War there was another factor on the South African scene. White supremacy, threatened occasionally over the 300 years of White settlement, was challenged by the emergence of independent states in Africa and Asia. On the political front the struggle for independence was a struggle for 'one man-one vote', and had direct consequences for South African Whites, who, in framing the Constitution of 1910, had resisted any effective participation

of non-Whites in the political process. There was another challenge; in all countries there arose a new demand for the implementation of 'Human Rights', a demand encouraged by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. In South Africa this meant a demand for equality of opportunity in the social and economic front and was thus a direct threat to White privileges.

The National Party came to power in 1948 on an appeal which rested almost entirely on its promise to safeguard and, if necessary, strengthen 'White supremacy'. In its public statements the Government identified this political, economic and social policy with the ideology of 'Apartheid', which was described in the 1947 Election Manifesto of the National Party as follows: 'In general terms our policy envisages segregating the most important ethnic groups and sub-groups in their own areas where every group will be enabled to develop into a self-sufficient unit. We endorse the general principle of territorial segregation of the Bantu and the Whites . . . the Bantu in the urban areas should be regarded as migratory citizens not entitled to political or social rights equal to those of the Whites. The process of detribalization should be arrested . . . '.

From the beginning there were two co-existing concepts of apartheid. One was that the races—subdivided into tribes—should be completely segregated into self-sufficient territories. The other was that apartheid was not to mean complete territorial segregation but a more rigid enforcement of non-White social, economic and political inferiority. From 1948 to 1965, the South African Government has moved in both directions. On 4 December 1963, the then Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd stated that ' . . . we shall be able to prove that it is only by creating separate nations that discrimination will in fact disappear in the long run'. It is certain that some idealistic White South Africans hoped that the incipient conflict in the South African situation would be resolved by apartheid. Further, many hoped that while the political and economic aspirations of the African majority—and the Coloured and Asian minorities—would be met by 'separate development', the privileges of a White South Africa would be guaranteed.

The creation of Bantustans—'Black homelands'—from the scattered reserves and the establishment of the Transkei as an example of a semi-autonomous state, are steps in this 'separate development'. It is not necessary here to go into the government's case for independent Bantustans—or the case against it. It is sufficient to note the report



of the United Nations' Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid in South Africa, 13 September 1963: 'These moves are engineered by a Government in which the African people concerned have no voice and are aimed at the separation of the races and the denial of rights to the African population in six-sevenths of the territory of the Republic of South Africa in return for promises of self-government for the Africans in scattered reserves which account for one-seventh of the territory. These reserves contain less than two-fifths of the African population of the Republic, while many of the Africans in the rest of the country are largely detribalized and have little attachment to the reserves. . . The creation of Bantustans may, therefore, be regarded as designed to reinforce White supremacy in the Republic by strengthening the position of tribal chiefs, dividing the African people through the offer of opportunities for a limited number of Africans and deceiving public opinion.'

Since separation or apartheid is the ideological and legal basis for the inequalities in access to education and to culture, and interferes with scientific development and freedom of information, it would be useful to examine briefly at this point the legislation which enforces separation. Legislation affecting particular fields of Unesco's competence will be analysed in detail in the relevant chapters.

One important step in any attempted separation of the races was the enforced removal of people of differing races who had lived closely together.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 with its later amendments provided for the classification of the South African population into three main groups: White, Coloured and African—the Asians constituting a sub-group in the Coloured group. This classification was fundamental to the whole government policy of 'Separateness' for each 'race'. As from 1 August 1966 it became compulsory for all citizens of the republic over 16 years of age to possess identity cards and to produce these at the request of an authorized person. The racial group of the holder is on this card. It was estimated that approximately 148,000 people had not applied for identity cards because they feared that they might be placed in a racial category which would affect their social status, lead to dismissal from their present employment and to their enforced removal from the area in which they now lived.<sup>1</sup>

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1966*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1967, p. 123.

Control of the freedom of movement of Africans has been achieved through the 'Pass Laws'. A system of pass laws was in effect before the National Party came to power; however, these laws varied from province to province. Some classes of Africans were exempted from carrying them, and in the Cape, while they existed in theory, they were in practice no longer required.

The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, 1952 repealed previous laws. Henceforth all Africans were required to possess a 'reference book' which contains detailed information about the holder, including a space for efflux and influx control endorsements. Failure to produce the 'reference book' on demand is a criminal offence. Between 1 January and 30 June 1964, 162,182 Africans had been prosecuted for failing to register or to produce these documents.<sup>1</sup>

The Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 and its amendments of 1952, 1956 and 1957, together with the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 42, of 1964, provided for the compulsory residence in locations, native villages or hostels of Africans within an urban area. It regulated the entry of Africans into the areas and the place of their settlement. The presence of an African in a prescribed area for more than 72 hours is subject to severe restrictions. To take up work he must get permission from a labour bureau and to visit the area permission must be sought from a labour officer. Some Africans are exempted from these restrictions, for example, those continuously resident in the area since birth (who must provide proof that they are entitled to be there). But even Africans who qualify to remain in a prescribed area may be deemed 'idle' or 'undesirable' and then be ordered out of the area, forfeiting their residential rights. Moreover, there seems to be some confusion as to what the exemptions are and to whom they apply.

The Group Area Act has been followed by a list of Group Area Declarations—setting aside areas for the exclusive occupation of one or other population group. This act has been implemented in spite of repeated resolutions by the General Assembly—Resolution 395 (V) of 2 December 1950, 551 (VI) of 12 January 1952, 615 (VII) of 5 December 1952 and 719 (VII) of 11 November 1953.

The proclamations issued in October 1963 involved, in Durban alone, the eviction of nearly 10,000 families, the great majority of

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1. Annual Report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the year ended 30 June 1964.



them Indians. In 1964 the declarations were designed to resettle virtually all of the 38,000 Indians on the Rand.

Eviction orders are not confined to situations in which there may be a degree—however small—of mixed residential districts; the orders were framed to force non-Whites out of the town centres and to resettle them on the outskirts. Thus, the joint ministerial statement of February 1966 declared District Six—one of the oldest sections of Cape Town—which had been populated by Coloured residents for over 300 years, as a White area. A Coloured population of over 20,000 were to be forced to move.

In spite of the ideology of apartheid, in spite of the uprooting of thousands of families, the complete separation of peoples into tribal and ethnic groupings in South Africa has proved impossible. The closely integrated economic structure, the location of all the major industries, all the mineral wealth, all the important harbour facilities and all the best arable land in that part of South Africa which was outside the reserves in White ownership meant that Africans—as well as Coloureds and Asians—remain dependent on the town and farming complex of White South Africa for a livelihood. Even the government's attempt to encourage African-owned small-scale industries in the Transkei has come up against the relative poverty of the area, the comparative lack of natural resources and the lack of accumulated capital. For good or ill, White and non-White South Africa remain economically interdependent. If the non-Whites need the job opportunities at present available in White South Africa, White South Africa could not maintain its present industrial and agricultural production—nor the present high standard of living—without non-White labour. In fact, whatever the stated policy of the Government, there has been an increasing number of Africans admitted to urban areas.

Table 1 gives the number of Africans admitted to the main urban areas and the number endorsed out during 1964 and for the first three months of 1965.

Between 1962 and 1964 the African population of Johannesburg increased from 609,100 to 706,389; the number of African men employed in Durban increased from 74,500 in 1946 to 136,000 in 1965. In the Western Cape, the number of Africans employed by local authorities, the Provincial Administration, Public Service Departments, agriculture and industry increased from 1963 to 1964 by 7.5 per cent (from almost 77,000 to a little under 83,000) and increasing numbers were

TABLE 1. Numbers of Africans admitted to and endorsed from main urban areas in 1964 and first three months of 1965<sup>1</sup>

Year	Admitted		Endorsed out	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1964	156 352	18 747	84 258	13 983
First 3 months of 1965	44 409	5 133	19 159	3 855

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, Vol. 12, 1965, Col. 4430. Quoted from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1966, p. 155.

being recruited for employment through the labour bureaux in the Transkei.<sup>1</sup> In the Rand the African population exceeds the White by more than 500,000.<sup>2</sup>

The main push of apartheid has been therefore in the direction of more rigid racial discrimination, with growing inequalities in opportunities. Table 2 illustrates this.

As it could be expected, the policy of apartheid has given rise to opposition. There have been protests, demonstrations and riots from the non-Whites, while among Whites opposition to the Government's policy has ranged from criticism to more political involvement.

A minority can hardly succeed in preserving its absolute supremacy in all spheres without the use of force. It is therefore not surprising that the implementation of the policy of apartheid has been accompanied by an abuse of police power, a disregard for the integrity of the individual and by the censorship of the press.

The real or imagined fear of counter-violence has led those in power to a multiplication of procedures aimed at strengthening the system of apartheid by destroying opposition.

Again and again during the post-war period, attention has been called to the situation in South Africa with regard to civil rights.<sup>3</sup> One need only briefly draw attention to the 90-day detention clause in the General Law Amendment Act, 1963, which when it was withdrawn on

1. *Second Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa*, Geneva, ILO, 1966, p. 11.

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1966*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1967, p. 168.

3. See in particular *The Report of the International Commission of Jurists*, 'South Africa and the Rules of Law', 1960, and *The Reports of the United Nations Special Committee on the Policy of Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa*, 10 December 1964 (A/5825/Add.1) and 16 August 1965 (S/6005).



TABLE 2. Population of South Africa by racial groups

Item	Africans	Coloured	Asians	Whites
Distribution <sup>1</sup>	12 465 000	1 805 000	547 000	3 481 000
Annual income (Rand)				
<i>per capita</i> 1960 <sup>2</sup>	87	109	147	952
Average salaries <sup>3</sup>				
Mining	152	458	458	2 562
Manufacturing	422	660	660	2 058
Public Service	346	603	884	1 694
Maximum pension <sup>4</sup>				
city }				
non-city }	44	168	168	360
}	138	138		
Infant mortality rate under				
1 year old per 1,000 live	no figures			
births, 1965 <sup>5</sup>	given	136.1	56.1	29.2
Increase/decrease of T.B. rates				
in 1963 over 1962, children				
under 5 <sup>6</sup>	+ 20.3 %	+ 7.5 %	- 16.8 %	- 7.0 %
Incidence of Kwashiorkor rate				
per 100,000, 1965 <sup>7</sup>	980	410	40	negligible

1. *Estimates in mid-1966. Statistical Yearbook 1966*, compiled by the Bureau of Statistics, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa, Table A11.

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965* op. cit., p. 205.

3. Figures taken from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963*, Johannesburg, 1964, p. 25 ff. In mining, Africans receive free food, accommodation and medical services.

4. *Revised Social Pensions in South Africa 1966*, Johannesburg, 1965, p. 5 (A Fact Paper, no. 17, 1966).

5. *Estimates in mid-1966. Statistical Yearbook 1966*, Table C32.

6. Minister of Health in the House of Assembly Debates, 21 April 1964 (quoted from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963*, Johannesburg, 1964, p. 308).

7. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 276.

11 January 1965, was in fact replaced by the 180-day detention measure of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No. 96 of 1965. Under this act the Attorney General may issue a warrant for arrest and detention for a maximum of six months (180 days) a person who is likely to give evidence for the State in any criminal proceedings with respect to certain offences, as long as that detention is deemed to be in the interest of such a person or of the administration of justice.<sup>1</sup>

The International Commission of Jurists observed: 'This must be one of the most extraordinary powers that have ever been granted outside a period of emergency. It authorizes the detention of an innocent person against whom no allegations are made and no suspicion

1. See A. S. Mathews and R. C. Albino: 'The permanence of the temporary. An examination of the 90 and 180 day detention laws'. *The South African Law Journal*, 1966, p. 16 ff.

even exists; it authorizes detention in the absolute discretion of the Attorney General. It denies the detainees access to a lawyer without special permission; and it precludes the courts from examining the validity of the detention even within the already very wide powers of the Act. It further authorizes the subjection of the detained witness to solitary confinement for a period of six months and, with the object, *inter alia* of excluding "tampering with or intimidation" of any person, places him in a situation where he is in the almost uncontrolled power of the police who also have an interest in the evidence he may give.<sup>1</sup>

There are too, the peculiar techniques of banishing, or listing persons, and of banning.

Banishment is an action which can be taken against Africans. Section 5(1)(b) of the Native Administration Act, 1927, amended 1952 and 1956, empowers the State President, whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest, without notice, to order any tribe, portion of tribe or individual African to move to any stated place. Banishment has been used, i.e., to remove from the reserves persons who have been active opponents of chiefs or of government measures for 'Bantu authorities', or land betterment, or the issuing of reference books to women.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, emergency regulations for the Transkei (Proclamations 400 and 413) provide that any person suspected of committing an offence under the regulations of any law, or of intending to do so, or of possessing information about an offence may be arrested without warrant and held in custody until the police or prison authorities are satisfied that they have fully and truthfully answered all relevant questions put to them. The offences include: holding a meeting of more than ten Africans unless with special permission (church services and funerals are exempted), making any statement or performing any action likely to have the effect of interfering with the authority of the State, one of its officials, or a chief or headman or boycotting an official meeting.

The person held in custody under these regulations may not consult with a legal adviser unless with the consent of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists*, Geneva, September 1966. Here quoted from *Report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa*, October 1966, A/6486, p. 121.

2. Muriel Horrell, *Action, Reaction and Counteraction*, Johannesburg 1963, p. 64. See also *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1965, op. cit., p. 52.

3. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1965, op. cit., p. 52.



Between January and April 1966, a total of sixty-two Transkeians were detained by the South African authorities.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, amendments 1962, a person might be listed as member or active supporter of the Communist Party of South Africa (banned in 1950) or of any other organization deemed unlawful (as the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress and the African Resistance Movement). In 1962 a list of 437 names of persons, 129 Whites and 308 non-Whites, was published in the *Gazette*.<sup>2</sup> Later some have been removed from the list, others have been added. Although, strictly speaking, the publication of the names has no direct legal consequences, the Minister of Justice is empowered to take certain actions against a listed person. It should be mentioned that the same actions might be directed against certain other categories, too, as persons convicted of actions deemed to have furthered the aims of communism. Banning orders of the most varying character might be served. Thus, a person might be prohibited from becoming or being a member of specified organizations or organizations of a specified nature. Further, a person may be prohibited from attending gatherings of any kind, including social gatherings. Such prohibitions are rather frequent. With certain exceptions it is an offence to record, publish, or disseminate any speech, utterance or writing made anywhere at any time by a person under such ban.

In addition a banning order may imply that the person concerned is prohibited from absenting himself from any stated place or area, he may be confined to a town or a suburb, he may be confined to house arrest for a certain number of hours, and public holidays. It is sometimes required that the person shall remain at home for 24 hours each day.<sup>3</sup>

The publication of particulars in the *Gazette* contains the date of delivery of notice and the date on which notice expires. The period varies, often it is one or two years, and sometimes five years.

At the beginning of 1964, 257 persons were subject to restrictions under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The United Nations Special Committee on the Policy of Apartheid

1. Report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, October 1966, A/6486, quoted from the Chief Minister of the Transkei in a reply to a question in the Legislative Assembly reported in *The World*, Johannesburg, 8 June 1966.

2. Annual Survey of South African Law, 1962, p. 53.

3. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 28 January 1964, Cols. 405-6.



in the Republic of South Africa gave the number of persons 'banned' as approximately 600 in 1966.<sup>1</sup>

While Unesco is not directly concerned with the economic and political aspects of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, the policy of apartheid has consequences for education, science, culture and the dissemination of information—consequences which follow logically from the philosophical concept of man as conceived by the ideology of 'Apartheid', from the economic inequalities which the policy creates and reinforces, and from the political situation which severely curtails freedom for all South Africans, and in particular for the non-White South Africans who form the majority of the country's population.

In conformity with the ideal of 'separateness', Africans, Asians, Coloureds and Whites are educated as independent groups within the population, the 'separateness' emphasized by the administrative structure of education, by methods of finance, by differences in syllabus, and by different levels of achievement deliberately imposed to fit in with different expectations in employment. Ultimately education is geared for the effective preparation of the Africans for their future occupations as unskilled labourers. Higher training is intended only for the small number of persons who can be employed in skilled works in African 'homelands' or African 'development schemes'.

The result of racial discrimination in education and in the pattern of employment is seen clearly in the field of science. South Africa is facing a chronic shortage of top-level manpower in science and technology as well as in management. The shortage cannot be remedied by relying on the White population alone. Moreover, the general repressive atmosphere is inimical to the development of a spirit of free inquiry and has led to the loss to South Africa of some scientists of great eminence, particularly in the field of the social sciences. The political atmosphere has also affected recruitment of staff, particularly from universities in the United Kingdom.

'Separate development' in the field of culture has reduced to a minimum all contacts between Whites and non-Whites that are not purely of an economic nature. As in all other fields, 'separate development' is in fact synonymous with 'inequality of access', but, moreover, cultural apartness, as opposed to cultural interaction for which

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1. *Report of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa*, October 1966, A/6486, p. 118.



Unesco stands, has limited the creative possibilities of all South Africans.

That policy cannot be separated from principle is illustrated in Part IV, on information. Whilst the South African Government in its statements continues to uphold the right to freedom of information, the need to enforce the policy of apartheid has affected the relevant legislation and its application, the actions taken denying in fact the principle of freedom of information.

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# I. Education

- '1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
- '2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
- '3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

*Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

'... the term "discrimination" includes any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular:

- (a) of depriving any person or group of persons of access to education of any type or at any level;
- (b) of limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standard.

*Article 1. Unesco Convention against Discrimination in Education.'*



# 1 Aims and objects



An inquiry into the effects of the policy of apartheid in the field of South African education of necessity begins with an examination of the basic objectives of the Government of South Africa. What does the government seek from education? How does its purpose compare with that generally accepted by other societies of the world?

In 1945, three years before the Nationalists came to power, two statements were made in the House of Assembly by members who were prominent in the National Party:

'As has been correctly stated here, education is the key to the creation of the proper relationship between European and non-European in South Africa. . . . Put native education on a sound basis and half the racial questions are solved. . . . I say that there should be reform of the whole educational system and it must be based on the culture and background and the whole life of the native himself in his tribe. . . . This whole (present) policy is also a danger for our own Western civilization.'<sup>1</sup>

'We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? . . . I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Net, House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, Vol. 52, 2 April, 1945, Cols. 4494-9.

2. Mr. J. N. le Roux, *ibid.*, Col. 4527.

An important influence in defining the objectives of education in South Africa was the concept of Christian National Education,<sup>1</sup> outlined by the Institute of Christian National Education for the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organizations (FAK). The Christian National Education policy was published in a pamphlet issued by the FAK in 1960; it stated:

'In full preservation of the essential unity of history we believe that God . . . has willed separate nations and peoples, and has given to each nation and people its special calling and tasks and gifts. . . . We believe that next to the mother tongue, the national history of the people is the great means of cultivating love of one's own. . . .'<sup>2</sup>

Christian National Education did not have the support of all White South Africans. English-speaking teachers associations, NUSAS, the English-speaking press and some Afrikaners opposed it. They claimed that it overemphasizes the differences between peoples and could, by encouraging unilingualism and by developing divergent conceptions of history, dangerously divide Afrikaans-speaking from English-speaking South Africans. Moreover they mistrusted the Christian National Education opinion that subjects like science, history should be presented in the light of fixed belief.<sup>3</sup> Even among those who supported it, there were some who saw Christian National Education not as a method of denying equal rights for Africans in accordance with a pre-destined pre-ordained plan, but rather as a way of guaranteeing the Afrikaner heritage against the influence of the English-speaking South African on the one hand, and on the other, guaranteeing the same separateness—together with intensified missionary endeavour—for all groups within South Africa. They believed that equality both in education and in cultural rights could come about only through separateness. They pointed to the concept of 'negritude' and the 'African personality' in other parts of Africa. In South Africa

1. Christian National Education which first appeared in the Netherlands in 1860 was in Afrikaner circles in South Africa seen as early as 1876 as a means of restoring the Church's influence over the youth and as protecting them against the domination of English culture. It was from the start linked with the protection of the Dutch heritage and the Dutch language, and was a reaction to the tendency for public schools to use English as the medium of instruction. See T. R. H. Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond 1880-1911*, Cape Town, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 30-3.

2. Quoted from F. E. Auerbach, *The Power of Prejudice in South African Education*, Cape Town, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 112.

3. See also Gwendolen M. Carter, *The Politics of Inequality in South Africa since 1948*, 2nd ed., London, Thames & Hudson, 1959, p. 261-6.



they felt that the uniqueness of the African tradition could be fostered best by strengthening or the reconstructing where this was necessary, of old tribal loyalties and the reinforcing of the mother tongue which they saw as one of the basic necessities for separateness, while permeating the whole with the Christian principles of the Dutch Reformed Church. Both in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State, Christian National Education has been adopted. It has had an important influence in certain sections of the Cape Province while in Natal the Provincial Council has refused to accept it. The principles of Christian National Education are important not only because they have been accepted by some provinces within the Republic of South Africa, but because the interlocking interests within Afrikaner society ensure that there are close ties between the Institute of Christian National Education, the Federation of Afrikaaner Cultural Organizations and influential members of the Nationalist Party.

What the Africans want from education has been summed up as a quest 'for integration into the democratic structure and institutions of the country. To them one of the most effective ways of achieving this is by education—an education essentially in no way different from or inferior to, that of other sections of the community'.<sup>1</sup>

1. D. G. S. M'Timkulu in 'The African and Education', *Race Relations Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1949. Quoted from Muriel Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 157.

## 2 Primary and secondary schools. Administration

### *African schools. The Bantu Education Act*

Until 1953 African schools were, with regard to administration and controls, of four types: private schools run by religious communities, etc., which could, if they wished, apply for official recognition and State aid; subsidized mission schools founded by church organizations, subsidized by the State and whose syllabus was prescribed by the Provincial Education Departments; government schools run by an education department; community or tribal schools, where the communities or tribes assumed the responsibility for the maintenance of the school.

The administrative control over African schools had become very complex. Each Provincial Council legislated for its own area—in the Cape the Education Department dealt with the education of all children but in all other provinces there were Departments of Native Education—the control was shared with Church authorities, while Parliament voted funds for African education. In an attempt to achieve greater co-ordination a Union Advisory Board for Native Education was set up in 1945, and in 1949 it had two African members: Professor Z. K. Matthews and Dr. J. S. Joroko.

In 1949, the South African Government appointed a committee which had as part of its mandate:

- ‘(a) The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.



- '(b) The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational educational system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the content and form of syllabuses, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.'

The main proposals of this committee, known as the Eiselen Commission, were embodied in the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and as amended in 1954, 1956, 1959 and 1961. This act, which affected the African population, represented the first major application of the official policy of apartheid to education.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 provided for the direct control of African schools by the Ministry of Bantu Affairs and not by the provincial governments. The aim was to introduce a system of African education closely co-ordinated with other aspects of African development, which could not be achieved with the existing system of divided control.

The Minister of Native Affairs introducing the bill said:

'Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live. . . . Good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself. . . . Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the State . . . racial relations cannot improve if the result of native education is the creation of frustrated people.'<sup>1</sup>

The Bantu Education Act, then, was not only to regulate the system of African education so that anomalies between provinces and schools should be removed, it was to control it in accord with the policy of the State.

The Bantu Education Act transferred administration of African schools from the provincial authorities to the Department of Native Affairs. The minister, acting under wide powers, withdrew grants as from 1957 to private schools for Africans. Private organizations were given the choice of relinquishing control of primary or secondary schools and selling or letting the building to the department or retaining the schools as private, unaided institutions. But even in the latter

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, Vol. 83, 17 September 1953, Col. 3575.

case they would have to accept departmental syllabuses and regulations regarding appointment of teachers, admission of students and media of instruction. One of the arguments against the former system was the lack of consultation between school principals and Africans. In the new system some responsibility was to be delegated from the Central Government to 'Bantu' authorities and local councils as far as control over primary schools was concerned, and when no such authorities existed school boards were to be created. However, unlike White school boards, the members to these school committees were to be subject to the approval of the Secretary for Bantu Education himself, and subsidies from the Central Government could be withdrawn on a month's notice, without any reason given for this withdrawal.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the Union's Advisory Board for Native Education had had in 1949 two African members. This board was responsible for advising on important policy decisions as far as African education was concerned. These policy decisions were now being taken by the Department of Bantu Administration so that African participation at this level had been effectively abolished.<sup>2</sup>

Secondary school control was to remain vested in the principal or in a special committee while schools on farms, mines or factory property could be managed by the owner of the property or his representative.

The result was that all mission and church schools, other than those maintained by the Catholic Church<sup>3</sup> and the Seventh-Day Adventists, were transferred to the Department of Bantu Affairs, or were forced to close.<sup>4</sup>

### *Coloureds*

The Coloured Peoples Act of 1963 provided that the control, until then vested in the provinces, of the education for Coloured persons should be vested in a Division of Education within the Department

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. 89, 13 June 1955, p. 19, Col. 7663; Government Notice No. 841 of 22 April 1955.
2. In reply to a question in the House of Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Education stated that of the 28 higher administrative posts, 80 higher professional posts and 42 administrative posts on the salary scale R. 2,280 × 120—2,760 in his department, none were occupied by Africans. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 9 April 1965, Cols. 4084-5.
3. The Catholic Church set about establishing a £1 million fund to finance their schools. Muriel Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 26.
4. The then Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves decided that he could not co-operate with the government even to the extent of leasing buildings to the Department of Bantu Affairs. Schools under his control were either handed over to the owners to run, or closed. M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 29.



for Coloured Affairs. After this act, no one could manage a private school at which more than 14 Coloured pupils were enrolled unless the school was registered with the department.

The act provided not only for the transfer of schools, but for the control of conditions of service for the teachers, one condition of service being that teachers could not belong to any organization to which the minister, in a notice in the *Gazette*, declared that they should not belong. An Education Council for Coloured Persons would act in an advisory capacity.

### *Asians*

The Indians' Education Act of 1965 also provided for the control of education for Indians to be vested in the Central Government under the Department of Indian Affairs. The act had provisions similar to the Coloured Peoples Act of 1963, the minister being empowered to establish an Indian Education Advisory Council, school committees, etc., he could recognize associations of Indian teachers, and it defined what could be considered misconduct on the part of teachers.<sup>1</sup>

These two acts, the Coloured Peoples Act of 1963 and the Indians Education Act of 1965, would seem, therefore, to follow the pattern of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and to provide the legal basis for a control of education in line with the government's policy of 'separate development'.

### *Whites*

Ever since the South African Act (1909) Article 85, primary and secondary education for White pupils has been administered in the provinces by the Provincial Council. With the exception of Natal, each school has a local committee, elected by parents, whose chief function is the selection of teachers, subject to the final approval of the department. In Natal the Provincial Department controls everything and there are no parent committees. With a view to co-ordinating the work of the provinces the government instituted in 1935 an Inter-provincial Consultative Committee in the field of White Education.

Ninety-two per cent of European pupils receiving primary and secondary education attend State schools.<sup>2</sup> The remainder attend

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, Vol. 13, 20 April 1965, Cols. 4434-6; op. cit., 21 April 1965, Cols. 4552, 4554, 4556; op. cit., 28 April 1965, Cols. 4928, 4967, 5015.

2. *World Survey of Education. I: Handbook of Educational Organization and Statistics*, Paris, Unesco, 1955, p. 612.

private schools, mainly run by church bodies. These private schools have to be registered by the school authority concerned, but unlike church schools conducted for Africans, they are free to organize their curricula as they please. Since all students in private as well as State schools study for the same examination (Matriculation, Senior School Certificate) the syllabuses are in fact very similar.

### 3 Primary and secondary schools. Finance

#### *Africans*

Financing African education was introduced by Act No. 5 of 1921. The costs were to be met partly by taxation levied on Africans and partly by funds drawn from general revenue. The act debarred the Provincial Councils from imposing special direct taxation on Africans except under certain conditions. That is, it was provided that every province should expend annually on the education of 'natives' a sum not less than its expenditure on such education during the financial year 1921-22, that the Governor-General might, from time to time, make grants to any province for the extension and improvement of educational facilities among 'natives', and that such grants should be made out of the revenues derived from 'the direct taxation of the persons, lands, habitations or incomes of natives'.<sup>1</sup>

This act which became important in the Nationalist argument in favour of financing African education mainly from additional African

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1. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51*, p. 36 (the Eiselen report).



taxation would seem to lay the precedent that the cost of extensions in African education should be carried by the African himself.

A second act, No. 41 of 1925 (Native Taxation and Development Act) had changed the taxation of Africans from the provinces to the Central Government, and the provisions of funds for Africans' education became the responsibility of the Central Government.

Both the principles, that further expansion of African education should be financially borne by Africans, and that African educational policy was the responsibility of the Central Government, were included in the Bantu Education Act of 1959 and the budgetary provisions which accompanied it.

It is true that the money available from the General Tax levied upon the Africans increased from £233,348 in 1926-27 to £459,831 in 1944.<sup>1</sup> However, in order to permit expansion of African education the principle of having a ceiling on the contributions from the general revenue was abolished in 1945.

After the introduction of the Bantu Education Act, 1953, the government reverted to an earlier position that there should be a ceiling to the contributions from the general revenues. From the fiscal year 1955-56 when the Bantu Education Account came into operation there has been transferred from Revenue Account a fixed annual amount of R.13 million. To this has been added a sum for university colleges (£500,000 in 1965-66).

The Minister of Native Affairs in pegging the subsidy for African education said:

'I think it is a wise thing to do in the interests of the country and its finances, but also because Bantu education can only be guided along sound lines when we build up this principle that while the European is prepared to make heavy contributions to native education, the native community will have to shoulder their share of the responsibility for this development in future.'<sup>2</sup>

In order to meet the increasing cost in African education the Native Taxation and Development Act (No. 41 of 1925) was amended in 1958 so that the basic general tax for which only African men were eligible could be raised from R.2 to R.3.50. From 1959 and 1960 this

1. Muriel Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 31. (£1 = R.2.)

2. Minister of Native Affairs, House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 1954, 3 June, Col. 6211.

basic figure was increased according to the proportion of the taxable incomes of individual taxpayers while in 1960 African women, who had not before paid the general tax became liable if their income exceeded R.360 per annum.

Government Notice No. 251 of 22 February 1957, as amended by R217 and 218 of 21 February 1964, stated the regulations for school funds in 'Bantu' community schools. These funds were to be derived from bazaars, concerts, etc. In addition there were to be 'voluntary' contributions from pupils ranging from 10 cents in lower primary to R.6 for students in vocational or technical schools or classes.<sup>1</sup> (See also Chapter 4, 'School Fees and Textbook Supplies'.) School boards were also required to raise part of the money towards capital costs of higher and post-primary schools. Moreover, when schools are erected in the new African urban townships, the costs of the lower primary schools may be included in the loans for housing schemes, and Section 36 of the Native Laws Amendment Act No. 36 of 1957 empowered the Minister of Native Affairs to take into consideration the costs of providing educational services when deciding upon rentals in African townships or hostels. During the six-year period, 1955-56 to 1960-61, the National Housing lent R.1,177,556 to local authorities for building lower primary classrooms.<sup>2</sup> African tenants were expected to gradually repay these loans through rents.

The annual grant from the Consolidated Revenue Fund for African education was fixed at R.13 million. The South African Institute of Race Relations, working out the purchasing power of this amount against the retail price index, concluded that 1963 R.13 million would purchase in 1965 only the equivalent of R.10.8 million.<sup>3</sup>

In Table 3 the revenue for 1955-56 (the first year of operation of the Bantu Education Account) is compared with that for 1960-61 and with estimates of revenue from the same sources in 1963-64.

The increase in the total income available for African education between 1955-56 and 1963-64 was due mainly to an increase in African taxation, and to a greater percentage of the African general tax—four-fifths until 1961 and five-fifths afterwards—which was allocated to African education.<sup>4</sup>

1. M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

3. *Secondary Education for Africans*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, p. 12 (RR.96/65).

4. Quoted from M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 34.



TABLE 3. Comparison of revenues for 1955-56 and 1960-61 with estimates of revenues in 1963-64 (in Rand) <sup>1</sup>

Item	1955-56	1960-61	1963-64
Fixed statutory appropriation from general revenue	13 000 000	12 000 000	13 000 000
Four-fifths of African general tax (and five-fifths in 1963-64)	3 932 566	5 459 033	7 800 000
Miscellaneous receipts (boarding fees, etc.)	121 278	665 508	730 000
TOTAL	17 053 844	19 124 541	21 530 000

1. Quoted from M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

The relationship between net national income and education can be seen from Table 4. It relates South Africa's net national income to total educational expenditure and to expenditure on African schools.

TABLE 4. Relationship between net national income and education <sup>1</sup>

Year	Net national income (millions of Rand)	Total expenditure on education (thousands of Rand)	Expenditure on Bantu schools (thousands of Rand)	Total expenditure on education as percentage of net national income	Expenditure on Bantu schools as percentage of net national income
1953-54	2 833	113 418	16 032	4.0	0.57
1958-59	3 710	149 189	18 458	4.02	0.50 (0.4975)
1961-62	4 622	188 390	19 207	4.07	0.42
1963-64	5 651	...	22 352	...	0.42 (0.39554)

1. Taken from *Secondary Education for Africans*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.  
... = Data not available.

While expenditure on education in general had risen in proportion to the net national income, the percentage spent on African schools was decreasing.

The Minister for Bantu Education explained how increased enrolment was handled without a corresponding rise in expenditure. It was done by:

1. The introduction of double sessions in the sub-standards, that is, the first two years of schooling. In 1958, 45.6 per cent of the children were in these standards.
2. The policy of appointing as far as possible women teachers for the lower primary classes. The majority are teachers with Standard 6 plus three years of teacher training whose starting salary is £10 13s.4d. per month.
3. The grading of farm schools into junior and senior schools with a corresponding saving on salaries since teachers in junior schools are paid a very small salary.
4. The conversion of school feeding funds for the expansion of educational facilities, where requested by the school boards. This last was already being done. In the present financial year school feeding is estimated to cost £35,000. In 1954 it was £628,000.<sup>1</sup> This is particularly serious in view of the high rate of malnutrition among Africans.

'Several surveys among African school children revealed that 60 to 70% were recognizably malnourished; 50% needed nursing and medical attention, and almost 10% required hospitalisation for diseases directly or indirectly attributable to malnutrition.'<sup>2</sup>

Rough estimates as to the amount contributed by Africans to the costs of educating their children during the year 1960-61 give the following figures: R.5,459,033 in direct taxation; R.114,225 advanced towards the erection of schools (this sum includes amounts added to the rentals of houses in urban areas); R.200,000 contributed towards the salaries of teachers; R.2,860,632 on school requisites, fees, etc.; in all, R.8,633,890.<sup>3</sup>

### *Coloureds*

Coloured education continued to be financed partly from the Consolidated Revenue Fund and partly from provincial taxation. For the year 1966 it amounted to R.23,640,500 of which R.501,000 had gone

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, Vol. 1, 1965, Col. 3867. (R.2 = £1.)

2. *African Taxation: Its Relation to African Social Services*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1960, p. 27 (Fact Paper No. 4). In 1943 the government introduced a school feeding scheme for African children on the same basis as for children of all racial groups. See M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

3. M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 161.



to the University of the Western Cape, and R.2,000 to Fort Hare for Coloured students still attending classes there.<sup>1</sup>

In the budget speech of 21 February 1963, however, the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that Coloured people would to an increasing extent be able to make a direct contribution to their education and to the costs connected with it.<sup>2</sup> This in fact was already being done. The Indian community alone had contributed over R.2 million to building their own schools during the period 1937-65. Indian teachers had given 3 to 6 per cent of their basic salaries for a two-year period.<sup>3</sup>

### Whites

White primary and secondary education is financed partly by provincial taxation and partly by a subsidy from the Central Government (see Table 5). The general subsidy from the Central Government amounts to about 50 per cent of the total provincial expenditure, to which is added a special subsidy for three provinces: the Cape, Natal and the Orange Free State.

TABLE 5. Provincial expenditure on education (in thousands of Rand)<sup>1</sup>

Year *	Cape	Natal	Transvaal	Orange Free State
1960	41 968	13 651	33 919	8 835
1961	43 903	14 403	37 031	9 227
1962	45 127	14 893	40 004	9 650
1963	46 248	15 509	42 482	10 174
1964	51 246	18 163	46 910	11 197
1965	35 451	18 732	48 180	11 781

1. From *State of South Africa Year Book*, 1966, p. 96.

2. Year ending 31 March.

Table 6 shows budgetary details for African, Coloured, Asian and White education in the year 1965-66.

1. Quoted in *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1966, p. 258.

2. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, Vol. 15, 21 February 1963, Cols. 1739-45, 2193-204, 3997-8.

3. Stanley G. Osler, address to the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association, Cape Town, 28 June 1965.

TABLE 6. Budgetary details for year 1965-66

Item	Rand
<i>Budget for African education</i> <sup>1</sup>	
African special education: estimate of expenditures from Revenue Account	14 200 000
Loan Vote African education	1 416 000
Estimate of expenditures from African Education Account	23 400 000
TOTAL	39 016 000
<i>Budget for Coloured education</i> <sup>2</sup>	
Schools of industries and reform schools	360 000
Financial assistance for course of instruction	22 000
Financial assistance to State-aided vocational and special schools	320 000
Departmental technical high schools	30 000
Agricultural training	25 000
Grants-in-aid and bursaries	382 000
Provision for university colleges	503 000
Primary, secondary and high schools and training for teachers	3 543 000
TOTAL	5 185 000
<i>Budget for Indian education</i> <sup>3</sup>	
Financial assistance to declared institutions and courses for education at technical colleges	289 000
Financial assistance to State-aided vocational and special schools	18 000
Financial assistance in respect of buildings, grounds, equipment and furniture	24 000
Provision for university colleges	857 000
TOTAL	1 188 000
<i>Budget for White education</i> <sup>4</sup>	
Adult education	1 489 590
Agricultural technical services (regional services and education)	12 080 000
Education, arts and sciences (from Revenue Account)	35 523 000
Education, arts and sciences (from Loan Vote)	4 667 000
TOTAL	53 759 590

1. Republic of South Africa, *Estimates of the Expenditure to be defrayed from Revenue Account during the Year ending 31 March 1966*, p. 139.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 74, 84 and 117.



*Per capita expenditure. Comparison between racial groups*

Table 7 gives the *per capita* expenditure on African pupils over the period 1953-61 in State and State-aided schools. This includes amounts spent on redemption of loans, but excludes expenditure on the maintenance of university colleges and capital expenditure on the Loan Account.

TABLE 7. *Per capita* expenditure on African pupils, 1953-61<sup>1</sup>

Year	Amount (Rand)	Enrolment	Cost per pupil (Rand)
1953-54	16 032 494	938 211	17.08
1955	15 769 550	1 005 774	15.68
1956	17 277 660	1 090 601	15.88
1957	18 036 350	1 143 328	15.78
1958	17 990 126	1 259 413	14.28
1959	18 457 830	1 308 596	14.10
1959-60	19 473 200	1 411 157	13.80
1960-61	18 852 514	1 513 571	12.46

1. Quoted in M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 41, from estimates given by Mr. F. J. de Villiers, then Secretary for Bantu Education.

The latest year for which over-all figures for *per capita* expenditure is available is 1953 when it was R.127.84 for White pupils, R.40.43 for Coloured.

Table 8 shows comparative unit costs of education in 1962, here reproduced with explanations from Stanley Osler's address to the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association, Cape Town, 1965. It should be noted that while the centralized character of African education permits a single over-all figure for African education to be relevant, in the case of Coloureds, Indians and Whites, *per capita* expenditure varies considerably from province to province.

This table indicates the inequality that exists in the financing of education for the various racial groups. The estimated cost per head of population in 1965 was R.1.88 for Africans, R.13.37 for Coloureds and R.32.88 for Whites. Moreover the cost per pupil for African education had declined from R.17.08 in 1953-54 to R.12.46 in 1960-61.

TABLE 8. Comparative unit costs of education, 1962, as given by the provincial Departments of Education<sup>1</sup>

Department	(1) Unit cost per pupil (Rand)	(2) Number of pupils (Sub. A-Std. X)	(3) Cost (1 × 2) (Rand)	(4) Population estimate June 1962	(5) Cost per head of population (3 ÷ 4) (Rand)
<i>African education</i> <sup>2</sup>	12.11 <sup>3</sup>	1 770 371	21 439 292.81	11 387 000	1.88
<i>Coloureds and Indians</i>					
Cape	60.65	296 360	17 974 234		
Natal	50.30	128 559	6 466 553		
Orange Free State	47.00	4 711	221 417		
Transvaal	92.88	46 253	4 295 979		
School of Industries	384.00	579	222 336		
Reformatories	461.00	933	430 113		
Technical College	88.46	2 070	183 103		
	62.14	479 465	29 793 735	2 196 000	13.57
<i>Whites</i>					
Cape education	147.73	205 650	30 380 675		
Natal	150.00	70 134	10 520 100		
Orange Free State	157.00	65 092	10 219 444		
Transvaal	129.70	330 922	42 920 583		
Education, arts and science <sup>4</sup>	257.21	40 500	10 417 176		
	146 65	712 298	104 457 978	3 182 000	32.83

1. Stanley G. Osler, op. cit., Chapter III, p. 30 and 31.

One does not know whether the unit costs are strictly comparable as there is no record of what items each department included. The estimate of the population for June 1962 is only an estimate. In view of this the unit costs per head of population must be treated with caution.

2. In the case of Africans the figures are over-all figures.

3. In 1953-54 was R.17.08.

4. Technical colleges included (full-time, part-time and post-Matriculation students).



## 4 School fees and textbook supplies

### *School fees. Africans*

The following are details of school fees for African students (1963-64).

*Lower primary schools:* a voluntary contribution not exceeding 10 cents per pupil per quarter.

*Higher primary schools:* a voluntary contribution not exceeding 30 cents per pupil per quarter.

*Post-primary community schools:* a voluntary or compulsory contribution not exceeding R.1 per pupil per quarter.

*Post-primary government schools:* a compulsory contribution of R.1 per pupil per quarter plus a further contribution not exceeding R.6 per pupil per year in trade schools or per pupil taking a technical course at a post-primary school.<sup>1</sup>

### *School books. Africans*

The value of school books supplied free to African pupils for the year 1963 is shown in Table 9.

Table 10 shows the costs of textbooks and writing materials (per pupil) to be purchased by African parents as estimated by the Institute of Race Relations.

They also estimated that if textbooks, writing materials, school levies and examination fees (where applicable) are taken into account, it cost parents an average of R.1.42 a year to keep a child in lower primary school, R.5.02 for those in higher primary classes, R.16.50 in junior secondary classes and R.33.50 in senior secondary classes.<sup>2</sup>

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 7 May 1965, Cols. 5519-21.

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1966, p. 245.

TABLE 9. Value of school books supplied free to African pupils <sup>1</sup>

Standards	Government schools (Rand)	State-aided schools (Rand)	Community schools (Rand)
Sub-standard A	1 079.20	10 980.99	45 635.41
Sub-standard B	832.45	6 720.52	32 388.80
Standard 1	711.30	5 316.51	28 055.10
Standard 2	556.75	3 516.10	21 931.75
Standard 3	396.41	1 863.95	17 141.86
Standard 4	312.23	1 104.45	12 650.23
Standard 5	273.48	465.99	10 316.70
Standard 6	292.18	290.49	9 334.15

1. Minister of Bantu Education, House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 7 May 1965, Cols. 5520-1. No books are supplied free to pupils in classes above Standard 6.

TABLE 10. Cost of textbooks and writing materials (per pupil) to be purchased by African parents <sup>1</sup>

Class	Rand	Class	Rand
Sub-standard A	.57½	Standard 5	3.34
Sub-standard B	.85½	Standard 6	3.59
Standard 1	1.02½	Form I	13.75
Standard 2	1.10	Forms II and III	22.94
Standard 3	2.51½	Forms IV and V	34.30
Standard 4	2.59		

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*. Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965, p. 277-8.

### *Fees and textbook supplies. Coloureds*

There have been (until 1965) no major changes in the system of textbook supply since the Ministry of Coloured Affairs took over control of Coloured education from the provincial authorities. The situation varied from province to province.

In the Transvaal education is free for all pupils and no separate statistics are kept with regard to free issues of books and stationery.

In Natal education is free for all pupils up to Standard 6. In Standards 7-10 under the age of 17 years, free issues of textbooks are given upon approved application.



In the Orange Free State and in Cape Province, free issues of books and stationery are issued to selected pupils.<sup>1</sup>

### *School fees. Whites*

Education is free for all White children until the end of secondary school.

The pattern of financing education for the various population groups is clear: the African population pay for the education of their children through direct and indirect taxation (including a 'general tax' which is payable by the African population alone),<sup>2</sup> through voluntary 'contributions' to specific educational projects, and through school fees.

Moreover, school fees for Africans increase for secondary schooling while grants for books are not payable with secondary schooling. For the individual African,<sup>3</sup> the cost of maintaining a child in secondary school must affect the parental decision as to whether or not the child proceeds to secondary school. This situation is unlikely to get better with time, on the contrary, if the government grant remains pegged at the present level, an expanding school population will make education at all levels increasingly expensive for the African population. The low *per capita* income of Africans highlights the economic difficulties with which they are faced, if they are to develop an efficient educational system.

1. Minister of Coloured Affairs, House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 9 April 1965, Cols. 4089-90.

2. Africans pay income and provincial taxes on the same basis as do members of other racial groups; however, in place of the personal tax paid by Whites, Coloureds and Asians, the Africans pay a general tax. Africans are taxed for eight more years of their lives than are members of other racial groups, African men pay general tax at a uniform rate, while an African woman is not exempt from paying the general tax when she marries. Married women of other groups are. In the lowest income groups the rate of general taxation for African men is higher than is the rate of personal taxation of other groups. In addition, Africans pay further direct taxes which are not paid by members of other racial groups. The Local Tax, the Transkeian General Levy, tribal levies in other areas, education tax in urban areas, hospital levy in the Orange Free State.

3. See 'Introduction', Table 2 for income rates. In Cape Town the mean average income per household in 1963 (African) was R.62.02 and the mean average expenditure was R.64.88 (higher than the mean monthly income). *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1964, op. cit., p. 233.

## 5 Enrolments and syllabuses

### *Primary schools. Africans*

The first priority in African education is mass literacy and the extension of primary education at the lowest level. In this field there is no doubt that the present South African Government has achieved results. However, expansion of primary school facilities can only be done within the limitations set by the lack of finance. Shortage of finance showed up in teachers salaries, in the type of schools which could be built, in the facilities within these schools—lack of finance remains one of the main obstacles to expanding the African school system. It also affects the quality of the education given.

There is a division between lower primary (7-10 years) and higher primary (11-14 years) recommended by the Eiselen Commission.<sup>1</sup> The lower primary school was to concentrate on 'the tool subjects (three R's)',<sup>2</sup> admissions were to be voluntary although attendance was to be compulsory, promotion was to be automatic, and at the end of the lower primary school (10 years) the pupils were to be tested in order to determine whether they had made sufficient progress to continue on to the higher primary.

There has been a considerable increase in enrolments at the primary school level, as indicated in Table 11. In 1955 the total primary enrolment was 970,239; in 1962 it was 1,628,267. However, a comparatively small number of African children proceed from lower primary to higher primary:

There is a continuous drop-out and only about 40 per cent of those starting lower primary enter higher primary school. One reason

1. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-51*, p. 140.

2. i.e., Reading 'riting and 'rithmetic.



TABLE 11. Enrolments at primary school level<sup>1</sup>

Class	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Sub-standard A	282 910	314 870	341 292	361 440	365 019	393 535	410 119	426 827
Sub-standard B	183 617	203 157	245 890	247 822	261 418	272 120	292 048	306 375
Standard 1	151 144	165 936	196 437	218 183	224 521	238 146	248 771	268 278
Standard 2	113 499	122 963	147 648	163 775	179 371	188 668	196 363	203 792
Standard 3	90 948	94 090	106 221	118 382	126 738	138 495	144 093	153 688
Standard 4	66 101	68 582	75 194	80 037	89 265	97 437	105 621	112 103
Standard 5	47 353	49 612	55 224	59 018	62 640	70 012	77 000	85 466
Standard 6	34 667	37 414	42 832	46 277	49 684	53 833	63 086	71 738
TOTAL	970 239	1 056 624	1 210 438	1 294 934	1 358 656	1 452 246	1 537 101	1 628 267

1. *Bantu Education Journal*, April 1965. Quoted in Muriel Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*. Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 70.

for the high rate of elimination was the lack of adequate accommodation in higher primary and post-primary schools. African school boards must bear half the cost of erection of higher primary and post-primary schools.<sup>1</sup>

Table 12 gives a breakdown of the adequacy of school facilities for Africans in primary schools as at 1960.

TABLE 12. Adequacy of school facilities in primary schools for Africans, 1960<sup>1</sup>

	No. of African children in 7-14 age group	Places available in primary schools	Percentage provided for
Reserves	851 600	696 000	81
Urban areas	618 200	590 000	95
European farms	691 600	172 000	25
	2 161 400	1 458 000	67

1. Quoted from *Hansard*, Cols. 8527 ff. in M. Horrell, op. cit., p. 73.

The syllabus in primary schools for Africans is the following:  
Lower primary course: religious education, a Bantu language, English, Afrikaans, arithmetic, writing, music, arts and crafts, gardening and environmental study.

Higher primary course: this corresponds to the syllabus of the lower primary course with the following exceptions. Social studies take the place of environmental study. Added to the course are: nature study, tree planting, soil conservation, needlework (for girls) and woodwork and metal work (for boys).

For the first two years (sub-standards A and B) the school day is divided into two sessions of three hours each, including a half-hour break. The curriculum is spread over 825 minutes a week at the rate of 165 minutes a day. Of this weekly total, religious instruction and health parades take up 205 minutes. Afrikaans, English and the vernacular have 380 minutes, arithmetic 140 minutes and writing and singing 100 minutes. Thus, roughly 25 per cent of the time is spent in religious instruction and health parades in the lower primary courses. A teacher is responsible for one group, usually sub-standard A, in

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1964*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965, p. 274.



one shift, and for another group, usually sub-standard B, in the second shift.

Children in Standards 1 and 2 (the third and the fourth year) follow a curriculum spread over 1,650 minutes, double the time allocated to the lower standards. The school day lasts five and a half hours. Religious instruction and health parades take up 300 minutes (18 per cent), English, Afrikaans and the vernacular 610 minutes (36 per cent), arithmetic 200 (15 per cent), environmental studies 120 minutes (8 per cent), gardening, handicrafts, needlework, singing and writing 420 minutes (25 per cent).

There is a heavy emphasis on manual training. This is particularly true of farm schools—schools established by European farmers for the education of the children of African employees.

On 31 March 1964, there were 2,430 'Bantu' farm schools with 215,997 pupils and 3,763 teachers.<sup>1</sup>

The pupil/teacher ratio which these figures indicate as well as the accent on manual training raise the question as to how far these schools are intended as educational institutions which can permit African children who attend them, to proceed to higher education and move out of a dependence on European farms for a livelihood.<sup>2</sup>

### *Coloureds*

Education is compulsory for Coloureds and Asians between the ages of 7 and 14 'Where there is demand for it and accommodation permits.'<sup>3</sup>

In the Cape Province attendance has been made compulsory in schools for Coloured children resident within three miles of the schools, and as from 1 January 1964, school attendance for Coloureds in Natal was made compulsory for all pupils until completion of the school year in which every pupil reaches the age of 16 years, or successfully completes the prescribed course for Standard 8.<sup>4</sup>

Double shifts were held in sixty-five schools in Cape Province, seven in the Transvaal and three in Natal.<sup>5</sup>

The Minister of Coloured Affairs estimated the number of Coloured children in the 6-14 age group who were not attending school to be:

1. Minister of Bantu Education, House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 9 April 1965, Cols. 4344-5.
2. See also Chapter 8 for the qualifications of teachers teaching in farm schools.
3. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 219.
4. Minister of Coloured Affairs, House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 14 May 1965, Col. 5993.
5. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 1 June 1965, Cols. 6831-2.

in Cape Province, 28,300; in Natal, nil (attendance is compulsory); in Transvaal, 3,181; in Orange Free State, 808; a total of 32,289.<sup>1</sup>

### *Primary schools. Whites*

Education is compulsory for White children between the ages of 7 and 16 years. Compulsory education means that potential drop-outs are kept on at school until they are 16 years of age.

### *Secondary schools for Africans*

The priorities in the government's 'Bantu' education programme are mass literacy and widespread primary education—priorities which have been seriously questioned in many developing countries, since access of nationals to higher employment both in government and in industry, depends to some extent on higher formal education. 'Fifty years ago the main emphasis was on primary education, but today in many budgets much greater emphasis is given to higher education; to technical education or to adult education. . . . The tendency is to agree to regard these as investment expenditures, and to give them absolute priority while leaving the extension of primary education to fight for its place in public expenditure with roads, health and all the other services which governments have to provide. . . . Looked at . . . primary, secondary and university education constitute a pyramid where all levels must expand in step.'<sup>2</sup>

In reaching conclusions about priorities in education, the Conference of African States at Addis Ababa (1961) put great emphasis on the expansion of secondary education. It noted that some African countries had unduly neglected secondary and higher education in proportion to primary education and pointed out that economic development was highly dependent on skills of the kind which are taught in institutions to students of 15 years of age or more.

'It is of the highest priority to ensure that an adequate proportion of the population receives secondary, post-primary and university education; this should be put before the goal of universal primary education if for financial reasons these two are not yet compatible.'<sup>3</sup>

1. *A Survey of Race Relations*, 1964, op. cit., p. 284.

2. W. Arthur Lewis, *Theory of Economic Growth*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1955, p. 185.

3. *Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa. Addis Ababa, 15-25 May, 1961, Final Report*, Paris, Unesco, p. 10.



At the subsequent Paris meeting in 1962 of ministers of education, it was decided to maintain the priority given to secondary level education on the grounds 'that it serves its many purposes, which include meeting the need for professional, agricultural and administrative personnel, as well as the entrance to higher education institutions that each country faces'.<sup>1</sup>

The following is the syllabus for African secondary schools in South Africa.

#### Junior secondary course

1st group: religious education, physical education, music and singing.

2nd group: a Bantu language (mother tongue), English, Afrikaans, social studies, arithmetic or mathematics or general mathematics, two subjects chosen from Latin or German or any other approved language, mathematics or general mathematics or arithmetic (if not already taken), a natural science (general science or physical science or biology), agriculture, woodwork, arts and crafts, homecraft, biblical studies or any other approved subject.

A Commercial and Clerical Junior Certificate course could be taken instead of the General Junior Certificate course, in which case four optional subjects could include book-keeping, commerce, typewriting, shorthand, commercial arithmetic, a natural science, social studies, mathematics.

A Technical Junior Certificate course in which instead of general science the theory of a technical subject is given and workshop practice is given as an additional subject.

#### Higher secondary course

Higher primary teacher-training course. For admission, course candidates must be in possession of the Junior Certificate. The course is of two years' duration and is designed to train teachers to give instruction in the primary school.

Senior Certificate course. This course covers the work of Forms IV and V. The syllabuses do not differ from those of other South African schools. The African schools may choose either the syllabuses of the Joint Matriculation Board or those of the Department of Education, Arts and Science. At the end of the second year, one or other of these external examinations is written.

1. *Meeting of Ministers of Education of African Countries . . . Paris, 26-30 March, 1962. Final Report*, Paris, Unesco, p. 32.

In the years before the introduction of the Bantu Education Act, the period 1943 to 1953, the enrolment in secondary classes increased from 1.69 to 3.47 per cent of the total enrolment. It is true that in the period 1953 to 1963 the number of those enrolled in secondary classes increased from 30,838 to 53,544. However, the proportion of the total enrolment dropped from 3.47 to 3.02 per cent (see Table 13).

TABLE 13. Enrolment in African schools. Total enrolment compared to enrolment in secondary classes <sup>1</sup>

Year	Total Enrolment	Enrolment in Forms I-V	Forms I-V as percentage of total enrolment	Enrolment in Form V	Form V as percentage of total enrolment
1928	241 775	1 071	0.44	13	0.005
1938	424 356	4 090	0.96	118	0.028
1948	749 179	18 393	2.46	528	0.070
1953	887 949	30 838	3.47	640	0.072
1958	1 338 424	41 568	3.11	938	0.070
1963	1 764 150	53 444	3.02 <sup>2</sup>	1 040	0.059

1. *Secondary Education for Africans*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, p. 4, (RR.96/65).

2. Unesco calculation 3.029 per cent.

There is a wastage throughout the course. Commenting on this, the South African Institute of Race Relations pointed to the lack of adequate accommodation in schools catering for pupils from Standard 3 resulting from the fact that African school boards must bear half the costs of erection of higher primary and post-primary schools, the shortage of departmental funds even where half the costs of building have been raised by Africans. It also pointed to the inability of many parents to afford school books and school fees, the need to send the children out to augment family incomes and the lack of adequate numbers of trained teachers for senior classes.<sup>1</sup>

Since a pupil would proceed from Form I to Form II, and so on, there is an appreciable drop-out between Form I and II (see Table 14).

Mathematics remained a subject which few Africans took; at Matriculation level in 1965, 126 full-time candidates had passed.<sup>2</sup>

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, op.cit., p. 275.

2. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 4 June 1965, Cols. 7173-4.



TABLE 14. Elimination in secondary classes of African schools <sup>1</sup>

Class	Year	Enrolment
Form I	1959	19 970
Form II	1960	14 105
Form III	1961	10 196
Form IV	1962	2 006
Form V	1963	1 040

1. *Secondary Education for Africans*, op. cit., p. 7.

There was a low standard of equipment in what science laboratories existed; Bunsen burners, balances and microscopes were in short supply. (See also Part II, Science.) This situation handicaps the African who wishes to continue to higher education in science. The Eiselen report, commenting on the fact that the subjects most favoured by Africans were those which needed a minimum of laboratory work, pointed to the shortage of funds for laboratories.<sup>1</sup> This was in 1949; the situation does not seem to have improved since then.

#### *Adequacy of school facilities. Secondary schools*

The government policy is to increase the number of senior secondary classes in the reserves rather than in urban areas. The result is that many children in urban areas must either cut short their schooling at Standard 8 or go to distant boarding schools.<sup>2</sup>

In 1964 only 936 pupils were enrolled in Forms IV and V in urban areas, as compared with 3,081 in rural areas. Only four high schools in 'Bantu' townships under the control of the Johannesburg municipality provided higher secondary education as on 30 June 1964, for a total school-going population in those townships of more than 74,000. No high school on the West Rand goes to Form V, while only two on the East Rand go as far.

Pupils passing the Junior Certificate examination at secondary schools in Pietermaritzburg-Edendale Border area, must go to a boarding school 40 miles away, at Mariannhill, or 50 miles away at Polela, near Bulwar.<sup>3</sup>

1. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-51*, p. 53.

2. *Secondary Education for Africans*, op. cit., p. 10-11.

3. *ibid.*

*School examinations. End of secondary school*

Table 15 gives the number of African students who passed the Senior Certificate examination, Matriculation examination and Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate examination in November 1963.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 15. African students' Senior Certificate examination, Matriculation examination and Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate examination, November 1963

Examination	Candidates		
	Total	Passed	Percentage
Senior Certificate <sup>1</sup>			
Class I		3	
Class II		207	
	334	210	62.9
Matriculation <sup>1</sup>			
Class I		6	
Class II		161	
Class III		154	
	548	321	58.5
Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate			
Class I		30	
Class II		704	
Supplementary		166	
	954	900	94.3

1. The figures comprise Matriculation Exemption (Matriculation) and School-leaving Certificate.

In a memorandum to the Minister for Bantu Affairs the Institute of Race Relations pointed out that 'The number of successful Matriculation candidates, particularly those who obtain a university entrance qualification, remains very low, and is unlikely to provide sufficient recruits of the educational standard required to graduate into the professions, train for senior positions in the growing civil service and fill the other positions becoming available.'<sup>2</sup>

1. Department of Bantu Education, *Annual Report for the Calendar Year 1963* (see Departmental report, Tables XXI, XXIII, XXVI.)

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, op. cit., p. 277.



*Secondary schools. Coloureds*

Table 16 indicates enrolment in Coloured schools in the Cape Province on 4 June 1963.

TABLE 16. Enrolment in Coloured schools in the Cape Province

Class	Number	Class	Number
Sub-standard A	67 108	Standard 5	19 210
Sub-standard B	53 806	Standard 6	13 771
Standard 1	47 559	Standard 7	6 972
Standard 2	39 084	Standard 8	4 678
Standard 3	32 965	Standard 9	1 800
Standard 4	25 238	Standard 10	1 200

In 1963, 1,158 students sat the standard 10 examination and 661 passed. In 1964, 1,068 sat and 430 passed.<sup>1</sup>

The table suggests that there is a high percentage of drop-outs, and that certainly in 1964 fewer students were passing the examination at the end of the secondary school course than in 1963.

The distribution of pupils in three provinces is shown in Table 17; 94.5 per cent of the pupils were in primary classes.

TABLE 17. Distribution of pupils<sup>1</sup>

Province	Year	Primary	Secondary
Cape	1963	285 952	12 864
Natal	1963	10 994	1 351
Transvaal	1962	21 679	4 376

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, op. cit., p. 284.

Table 18 shows how Indian secondary education has grown considerably between 1945 and 1965.

Enrolment figures for primary and post-primary education for Coloured and Indian students in 1966 are shown in Table 19.

1. Minister of Coloured Affairs, Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 7 May 1965, Col. 5519.

TABLE 18. Growth of Indian education in Natal <sup>1</sup>

Year	Total enrolment	Enrolment in Standards 7 to 10	Percentage total in Standards 7 to 10
1945	34 031	876	2.6
1954	68 968	3 066	4.4
1963	121 386	11 124	9.2
1965	129 614	16 172	12.5

1. *Secondary Education for Africans*, op. cit., p. 6.

TABLE 19. Enrolment figures for Coloured and Indian pupils, 1966 <sup>1</sup>

Class	Coloured		Indians	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
<i>Primary</i>				
Sub-standard A	102 757	23.59	18 136	13.60
Sub-standard B	71 133	16.33	17 118	12.84
Standard 1	65 794	15.11	18 477	13.86
Standard 2	52 406	12.03	15 245	11.43
Standard 3	43 120	9.90	15 329	11.49
Standard 4	34 495	7.92	13 200	9.90
Standard 5	25 628	5.88	11 935	8.95
TOTAL	395 333	90.76	109 440	82.07
<i>Post-primary</i>				
Standard 6	19 248	4.42	10 504	7.88
Standard 7	10 561	2.43	5 378	4.03
Standard 8	6 648	1.53	4 650	3.49
Standard 9	2 326	0.53	1 783	1.34
Standard 10	1 416	0.33	1 592	1.19
TOTAL	40 199	9.24	23 907	17.93
GRAND TOTAL	435 532	100.00	133 347	100.00

1. Compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations from figures given by the Minister of Coloured Affairs in the House of Assembly on 23 September 1966 and the Minister of Indian Affairs on 30 September 1966. The Indian figures may be slightly higher than given, since it would seem that they refer only to Natal where, however, most Indians live.

See *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1966*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1967, p. 252.

Primary and secondary enrolment of White students in provincial, provincial-aided and private schools in 1963 is shown in Table 20.



TABLE 20. Enrolment of white pupils, 1963<sup>1</sup>

Class	Provincial and provincial-aided schools	Private schools	Total	Percentage
<i>Primary</i>				
Grade I	71 333	5 000	76 333	10.45
Grade II	68 104	4 438	72 542	9.93
Standard 1	67 771	4 371	72 142	9.88
Standard 2	65 297	4 022	69 319	9.49
Standard 3	63 666	3 969	67 635	9.26
Standard 4	59 696	4 059	63 755	8.73
Standard 5	55 920	4 246	60 166	8.24
TOTAL	451 787	30 105	481 892	65.98
<i>Secondary</i>				
Standard 6	58 472	4 573	63 045	8.63
Standard 7	56 137	4 340	60 477	8.28
Standard 8	44 929	4 025	48 954	6.70
Standard 9	30 976	2 941	33 917	4.65
Standard 10	21 995	2 480	24 475	3.35
TOTAL	212 509	18 359	230 868	31.61
Unclassified	17 367	220	17 587	2.41
GRAND TOTAL	681 663	48 684	730 347	100.00

1. Figures compiled by the Department of Education, Arts and Science here quoted from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1966*, op. cit., p. 251.

The comparative distribution figures for primary and secondary education in 1962 are shown in Table 21.

TABLE 21. Comparative distribution figures for primary and secondary education, 1962<sup>1</sup>

	Primary pupils		Secondary pupils	
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Africans	1 628 561	96.6	56 281	3.3
Coloureds	311 903	88.6	37 205	10.6
Asians	117 160	81.4	24 006	16.7
Whites	474 221	58.5	283 824	35.0

1. Taken from Stanley G. Osler, *Pyramids and Peoples*. Quoted from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, op. cit., p. 275.

As regards the comparative elimination rates—in secondary education only—the percentage of pupils who commenced Standard 6 in 1958 and were in Standard 10 in 1962 was: Africans 5.30, Coloureds 11.87, Indian 14.90, Whites 54.44.<sup>1</sup>

## 6 Content of textbooks

### *Textbooks*

‘First the “truth” is obviously not confined only to factual truth—which explains why such importance is attached to eliminating not merely direct counter-truths, but tendentious presentations of facts as well; deliberate errors are extremely rare, but there are cases of a more insidious form of inaccuracy, such as distortions arising from preconceived notions, concepts blindly accepted, unconscious habits of thought, and the desire of certain authors to colour the history of the past in order to justify the present. . . . Facts should not be dealt with in a subjective and emotional manner, but should be critically discussed.’<sup>2</sup>

‘In South Africa we are in the peculiar position that the distortions which occur in our domestic history take the form which in other countries is taken in international distortions. They take the form of encouraging group pride and animosity amongst other racial and national groups which happen to be all inhabiting the same country.

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1. South Africa National Bureau of Research, here quoted from Stanley G. Osler, *Pyramids and Peoples*, 1964, p. 12.

2. *Bilateral Consultations for the Improvement of History Textbooks*, Paris, Unesco, 1953, p. 41



That makes the distortions of history in South Africa more immediately dangerous than perhaps in most other countries.’<sup>1</sup>

In this section an analysis is attempted of textbooks used in White schools in two subjects, history and race studies.

At the outset it should be remembered that there are basically two types of White schools—the Afrikaans-medium schools and the English-medium schools. Whites, Coloureds and Asians often have the same syllabus and use the same textbooks. Africans have a different syllabus and sometimes different textbooks. Some of these books are revised or condensed versions of textbooks used in White schools.

The 1949 Statement of the Institute vir Christelik Nasionale Onderwys (Institute of Christian National Education) (ICNO) laid down the principles for teaching history. History was to be taught in the light of the Divine revelation, it must be seen as the fulfilment of God’s plan. The antithesis between the Kingdom of God in Jesus Christ and the Empire of Darkness was to be traced in history. God had willed separate nations and peoples giving to each nation and people its special calling and tasks and gifts. The youth could take over the task and mission of the older generation only if in the teaching of history they obtain a true vision of the origin of the nation and of the nation’s cultural heritage and of the contents of the sound trend in that heritage. National history was to be, next to the mother tongue, the great means of cultivating love of one’s own.<sup>2</sup> History then was to be seen as the reinforcing of Divine pre-destination, and as an instrument for building up nationalism. How is this reflected in the history textbooks in use?

The 1948 Transvaal syllabus listed several objectives. The first was the duty and privilege of the history teacher to inculcate in his pupils a rational and enlightened love of country, the second was the development in the pupils of the ability to reason logically and to form sound judgements through the study of cause and effect. History, too, was to indicate how Western European civilization was established and how it developed in a country originally inhabited only by native races.<sup>3</sup>

1. Professor Arthur Keppel-Jones, *Bias in the Presentation of South African History*, lecture delivered at a seminar school on history teaching, Johannesburg, 1955. Quoted from F. E. Auerbach, *The Power of Prejudice in South African Education*, Cape Town, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 13.

2. ICNO Policy Statement, Article 6. Quoted from F. E. Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

3. *Transvaal Suggested Syllabus for Standard VII*, Education Department, 1948, p. 139.

The syllabus was changed in 1958. The study of history was now to show how God leads a nation to pious deeds and how a Divine plan with a nation is carved out. . . . It was to shape nationalism as contrasted with chauvinism, and the student was to be taught that there was a genetic connexion between the present and the past. History was to remain a method of finding facts but it was also to be an explanation and an interpretation of the facts. Because it is an interpretation, history, while remaining objective, was not to be necessarily neutral.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of a chosen people found echoes in some textbooks. The hand of God reveals itself in the history of the Afrikaner South African. They had been planted by God as a new nation on the southern tip of Africa and had been wonderfully preserved from being wiped out.<sup>2</sup>

A Standard 8 guidance book underlines the differences that are presumed to exist between White and non-Whites:

'The point of view of certain foreign clergymen that Whites and Non-whites should inter-marry and that, in the name of Christianity, is too incisive a change in the culture pattern of the Non-white and the White. Such a thing can only create confusion and degeneration. All things considered the coming about and continued existence of the White Christian civilisation in spite of the mass of Non-whites can be seen as nothing less than a disposition of the Almighty.'<sup>3</sup>

A comparison of the percentage of space given to European history gives the impression that periods of European history which accord with the concepts of nationalism are given a greater emphasis in South African textbooks than periods of inquiry or political liberalism. Thus, except for book L, the Renaissance receives a less full treatment than the Reformation; the French Revolution in the senior textbooks and particularly in K is given a relatively restricted treatment. More noticeable is the difference in emphasis about South African history itself. The Great Trek gets 15 per cent of the space in J and 18 per cent of the space of K compared with 9 per cent of the space in L. The Founding of the Republics gets 10 per cent of the space in J and 14 per cent of the space in K, compared with 7 per cent of the space in L. The Orange Free State and the Basutos get 4 per cent of the space in J,

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1. F. E. Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

2. *ibid.*, p. 117.

3. Quoted here (translation from the Afrikaans) from F. E. Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 118.



TABLE 22. Percentage of text devoted to the various topics in Standard 6 textbooks (used in the Transvaal) <sup>1</sup>

	J <sup>a</sup>	K <sup>a</sup>	L <sup>a</sup>
Introduction and the Cradle of Western civilization	13.0	12.0	
The heritage of Greece and Rome	16.5	8.0	23.0
	29.5	20.0	
The chief characteristics of the Middle Ages	11.5	8.0	25.0
Inventions and discoveries during the Renaissance	5.5	4.0	
Portuguese trade with the East	4.0	5.0	10.0
The Dutch sail around the Cape	4.5	6.0	
	25.5	23.0	
	55.0	43.0	58.0
Foundations of Dutch settlement at the Cape	4.0	4.5	3.0
Native races of South Africa	8.0	11.0	1.5
The free burghers	3.0	4.0	5.0
Exploration and discovery till 1700	3.0	4.5	3.0
Simon van der Stel and the Huguenots	7.5	8.0	4.5
Cape at the beginning of the eighteenth century	7.0	9.0	9.0
Expansion 1700-79	4.0	6.5	8.0
Influence of colonial and European wars	4.5	4.0	1.0
1771-95	4.0	5.5	7.0
	45.0	57.0	42.0
	100	100	100

1. F. E. Auerbach, op. cit., p. 31.

2. J. = F. A. van Jaarsveld, in collaboration with J. J. van der Walt, *History for Standards 6, 7 and 8*.K = Dr. J. F. E. Kavinger, G. F. Robbertse and A. G. Roodt, *Histories for Standards 6, 7 and 8*.L = A. N. Boyce, *The Legacy of the Past: History Books for Standards 6, 7 and 8*.

These code letters are also used in Tables 2 and 3.

2 per cent of the space in K and is not treated at all in L. Kruger and Rhodes are given 7 per cent of the space in J, 9 per cent in K and 1.5 per cent of the space in L. The Anglo-Boer war is given 10 per cent of the space in J, 5.5 per cent of the space in K and 2.5 per cent of the space in L. For a complete breakdown of figures, see Tables 22, 23, 24.

Textbooks J and K were mainly in use in Afrikaner-medium schools, textbook L in English-medium schools.

TABLE 23. Percentage of text devoted to the various topics in Standard 7 books <sup>1</sup>

	J	K	L
Renaissance	5.5	3.5	15.0
Reformation	9.0	12.0	12.0
Eighty Years' War	7.0	3.5	5.0
Rise of France, Russia and Prussia	16.5	10.0	15.0
Industrial Revolution in England	5.5	4.0	12.0
	43.5	33.0	59.0
First British occupation	3.0	7.0	4.5
Batavian Republic	3.0	5.0	2.0
Second British occupation 1806-34	14.0	14.5	15.0
The Great Trek	15.0	18.0	9.0
The Founding of the Republics	10.0	14.0	7.0
The Orange Free State and the Basutos	4.0	2.0	—
Sir George Grey	3.5	2.5	—
Progress in the Cape Colony until 1854	—	—	3.5
	52.5	63.0	41.0
Civics	4.0	4.0	—
	4.0	4.0	—
	100	100	100

1. F. E. Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

### *Slant of text*

Two myths tend to be widely believed in South Africa. The first is that the Dutch landed in an empty territory.<sup>1</sup> The second is that clashes with African tribes were always violent and that the early history of White settlement was marked by the massacre of innocent unsuspecting Whites by the Africans.<sup>2</sup> Early travellers had very different tales to tell:

'On Sunday the 26th of November (1497) the fleet reached the inlet termed by Da Gama the Watering Place of Sao Bras, now Mossel Bay. Here after they had been several days at anchor, a number of Hottentots appeared, some—men and women—riding on pack oxen. They were very friendly.... Afterwards more arrived, bringing a few sheep, which were obtained in barter.'<sup>3</sup>

1. See Leo Marquard, *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press 1962, p. 3 ff.
2. I. D. MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1965, p. 260.
3. G. M. Theal, *Belangrike historieke dokumenten*, Vol. 1, p. 56-7. Quoted from I. D. MacCrone, *op. cit.*, p. 11.



TABLE 24. Percentage of text devoted to the various topics in Standard 8 textbooks<sup>1</sup>

	J		K		L	
French Revolution	12.5		8.5		10	
Napoleon	11		4.5		16	
Congresses	2.5		2		10	
1815-48	8	34	4	19	—	36
Africa after 1939	12	12	25.5	25.5	15	15
Introduction and Diamonds	7		4.5		13.5 <sup>2</sup>	
Carnarvon's federation policy and consequences	7.5		12		7	
Discovery of gold and results	5		4		9.5	
Kruger and Rhodes	7		9		1.5	
The Anglo-Boer war	10		5.5		2.5	
Factors leading to union	3		8		2.5	
The constitution	3		— <sup>3</sup>		3.5	
South Africa as a member of the Commonwealth	2.5	45	1	44	—	40
Civics: How the country is governed	3		4.5		—	
Taxation and public finance	1		2		—	
Aftermath of union (1910-1939)	5	9	5	11.5	9	9
	100		100		100	

1. F. E. Auerbach, *ibid.*

2. Includes Sir George Grey and the Basuto wars.

3. Included in Civics.

'Others will say that the natives are brutal and cannibals, from whom no good can be expected . . . we of the Haerlem testify otherwise, as the natives came with all friendliness to trade with us at the fort . . . bringing cattle and sheep in numbers. . . . The killing of our people is undoubtedly caused by revenge being taken by the natives when their cattle is seized, and not because they are cannibals.'<sup>1</sup>

Both Macrone and Hawaarden point to the perpetuation of the myth that unprovoked Africans attacked European farmers:

'If African peoples are presented to school children solely as engaging in unprovoked attacks on White farmers—and this is the picture which

1. Leendert Jansz and N. Proot in their 'Remonstrance to the Council of Seventeen on July 26, 1649'. Quoted from I. D. MacCrone, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

most South African textbooks and teachers present in both primary and secondary schools—then though the facts of individual attack may be correct, the total impact of the students and the picture they form of past events, is untrue. It omits the attacks by Europeans, the provocation suffered by the Africans, the loss of their lands, the courage and chivalry with which the Ama-Xhosa fought in defending their country from invasion.’<sup>1</sup>

Land tenure and its relationship to frontier clashes between the Whites and the Africans was one of the key aspects of early South African history. Auerbach found that in the Transvaal no junior book explains land tenure, though two mention it, and only one senior book deals with it. He further goes on to say:

‘Thus, unless teachers are aware that nearly all textbooks perpetuate errors which historians have corrected by diligent research . . . children in many schools will regard the Xhosas as thieves and possibly murderers, and the European farmers are blameless, since many of the books employ . . . emotive words calculated to arouse feelings of hostility against the Xhosa. The children are therefore likely to identify themselves virtuously with the blameless farmers, and some, if not all, present-day Africans with the Xhosa thieves.’<sup>2</sup>

The subject ‘race studies’ has been introduced in many South African schools. Table 25 shows a content analysis of race studies textbooks in the Transvaal.

An interesting aspect of this is the high percentage of space devoted to ‘Bantu tribal life in the reserves’, and the very small percentage of space given to ‘Bantu in urban areas’, this in spite of the growing urbanization of Africans. However, the textbooks point to the ‘problems’ created by an African urban population. For Bruwer<sup>3</sup> while the African farm labourer and mineworkers present only minor problems the urban African is organized into political ways of thinking and by strikes and boycotts could exert a powerful influence on the South African economy. Moreover, African urbanization would lead to economic integration, would lower the working morale of the Whites, and also lay on the Whites a heavy and uplifting task. For

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1. Eleanor Hawaarden, *Prejudice in the Classroom*, Johannesburg, 1966, p. 41.

2. F. E. Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

3. See Table 25.



Hudson<sup>1</sup> the problem was that increased African urbanization would lead to social assimilation.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 25. Content analysis of race studies textbooks<sup>1</sup>

Syllabus topic	Hudson <i>et al.</i> <sup>1</sup> Standards 6-8	Bruwer <i>et al.</i> <sup>2</sup> Standards 6-8	Becker <i>et al.</i> <sup>3</sup>	
			Standards 6 and 7	Standards 6-8 <sup>3</sup>
Races of the world and of Africa	6	11	13	6.5
Bushmen and Hottentots	12	15	25	12.5
Coloured people	10	12	9	9
Indians	9	9.5	9	8
Bantu tribal life and reserves	38	29.5	44	32
Contact with and employment by Whites; administration of Bantu	15	16		17
Bantu in urban areas; their administra- tion; missions and education	9	6		12
Traditional standpoint on administration of non-Europeans	1	1		3

1. F. E. Auerbach, op. cit., p. 120.

2. Hudson, van Tonder *et al.*, *Race Studies for Standards 6, 7 and 8*, Nasionale Pers.

Bruwer *et al.*, *Race Studies. Standards 6, 7 and 8*, J. H. B. Voortrekkerpers, 1958, 1959.

P. L. W. Becker, *The Peoples of South Africa (Standards 6 and 7)*, Dagbreek Book Store, 1958 and 1960.

3. The book by Becker *et al.* appeared in 1964; the revised analysis is therefore included here.

1. See Table 25.

2. F. E. Auerbach, op. cit., p. 120-1.

## 7 Mother tongue instruction

### *African schools*

In discussing mother tongue, it is well to note that in South Africa, Afrikaans and English are the only official languages, and that Bantu languages are not used as a medium in government, industry, commerce and finance. This point was made by Mr. H. Holmes, Vice-Rector of the Johannesburg College of Education:

'Africans object to the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction—they want English. The Africans' objections are two-fold—one irrational, the other more to the point. Africans claim to know their own languages and therefore see no need to use them at school. This attitude of the intelligentsia has probably robbed Africans of good literary works, there is far too little for the educated African to read in his own language. His second objection, the real one, is that unless he knows a European language, and preferably English, all doors to progress will be closed to him. Language to him must be functional in a world of industry and commerce. It also makes him international.<sup>1</sup>

Under the old system in South Africa, it was generally the practice to use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction during the first four or five years of schooling. There was, after this period, a gradual change to the use of one of the official languages—for historical reasons usually English—so that during the last two years of primary education at least, African pupils were taught in an official language.

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1. *The Bantu at School*, paper given by H. Holmes at a symposium on South Africa, Maraisburg Rotary Club, Roodepoort, June 1962.



The Bantu Education Act of 1953 'empowers the Minister to prescribe the medium of instruction in Government Bantu Schools'. As a result instruction in the 'mother tongue' is now used throughout the primary school. In addition, the African is required to learn two official languages: Afrikaans and English. One official language is generally introduced as a subject during the child's first year at school and the other six months later.

One of the arguments against the use of a Bantu language throughout the primary school course was that the language, fashioned to the needs of a peasant community, put a limit to the wider education needed today. This gap in vocabulary was recognized by the South African Government itself. Departmental committees were established to prepare glossaries for the seven main Bantu languages. Lists of terms to be used in primary school subjects were circulated to schools, and lists of terms for secondary school subjects are now being prepared.

The significant factor in mother tongue instruction—as in other aspects of African education—is that the choice of what language to be taught and for how long, was not the choice of the Africans themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of the choice of the medium of instruction, at the primary level, does not of course exist only in South Africa. It is a worldwide problem. It should, however, be underlined that it presents itself in completely different terms outside South Africa, because it is not viewed from the angle of a discriminatory policy. In South Africa, however, the policy of apartheid has had recourse to the choice of the mother tongue as the main medium of instruction at the primary level (beyond which, it has been shown, the vast majority of African children do not pursue their studies) in order to reinforce the linguistic, social and cultural isolation of the African population within the country as well as from the world at large.<sup>2</sup>

One important problem in the system of teaching foreign languages in African schools is the lack of properly trained staff. Effective lan-

1. See also *Education for South Africa. The 1961 Education Panel. First Report*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1963, p. 56: 'The decision as to how fast and in what direction a culture shall change, what its attitude should be to other languages, for example, is a decision belonging to the bearers of the culture alone. In our opinion, therefore, White-inspired attempts to insist upon the preservation of Bantu languages are as misplaced as White attempts to eliminate such languages would be. The decision as to how Bantu languages as a medium of culture and learning shall develop belongs to the Bantu; or, to be more accurate, the decision as to each particular language belongs to those whose language it is.'

2. See Part III, Chapter 4.

guage teaching depends on the proficiency of the teachers in the language concerned. In most schools at present, the same overworked teacher teaches both Afrikaans and English. Under such conditions, it is to be questioned whether pupils, at the end of their school life, graduate with more than a rudimentary knowledge of English and Afrikaans.<sup>1</sup>

However, the Minister of Bantu Education declared that the department had supplied radio sets to higher primary and post-primary schools and broadcast special programmes in the official languages. At the beginning of 1964, 500 of these sets had been distributed and a further 1,500 were planned for distribution before the end of the year.<sup>2</sup>

One problem is the lack of literature available in African languages. This would be less serious if African writers were writing more in their home languages. Although a great percentage of books produced in Bantu languages are textbooks, well-known African writers are, for a variety of reasons (see Part III), writing in English, or if writing in their mother tongue, are writing unpublished manuscripts, so that the literature available to the adult African trained in his own language remains limited.

### *White schools*

In White schools the principle has been laid down that a child should be taught in its mother tongue at least during primary school. However, students should be proficient in both official languages, English and Afrikaans, by the end of secondary school. Former attempts to provide dual-language schools in the Transvaal were reversed after the National Party victory in 1948. In the Orange Free State and in Transvaal (where Christian National Education has been put into practice) it is now compulsory for children to receive their primary school education in their 'mother tongue'; Afrikaans-speaking parents cannot send their children to a school where the language of instruction is English, unless it is a private denominational school.<sup>3</sup> This trend of

1. The South African Institute of Race Relations commented: 'The net result of the 1946 syllabus... has been that Africans have, increasingly, found difficulty in expressing themselves coherently in either of the official languages.' *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1966*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1967, p. 237-8.

2. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, Cols. 6348 ff. Quoted from Muriel Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964.

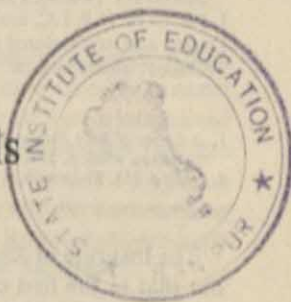
3. Gwendolen M. Carter, *The Politics of Inequality in South Africa since 1948*, 2nd ed., London, Thames & Hudson, 1959, p. 261-2.



separateness in education ensures that Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking children are increasingly educated apart and that contacts between them are limited to out-of-school activities.

It should be noted that the language load in white schools is less than in African schools, and there is some flexibility in the choice as to when the second language, English or Afrikaans, is introduced.

## 8 Teachers in primary and secondary schools



### *Teachers in African schools*

The Eiselen report which was published in 1951 found the position of African teachers in secondary schools to be unsatisfactory. The breakdown of African teachers holding qualifications was 18.6 per cent without matriculation, 41.4 per cent without degree, 2.2 per cent with degree but without teacher's diploma, and 37.8 per cent with degree plus diploma.<sup>1</sup>

By 1963, only 31 per cent of teachers employed in secondary and training schools were graduates.<sup>2</sup> If being a graduate is taken as being of a particular professional level, then the over-all quality of the instruction had deteriorated between 1949 and 1963.

Table 26 gives, from the departmental report for 1963, the qualifications of African and Coloured teachers employed in schools for Africans.

1. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51*, p. 81.

2. *Secondary Education for Africans*, South African Institute of Race Relations, p. 8 (RR./96/65).

TABLE 26. Qualifications of African and Coloured teachers employed in schools for Africans <sup>1</sup>

Qualifications	All teachers <sup>a</sup>	Teachers in secondary and teacher-training classes
Neither degree nor professional qualifications	4 596	157
Degree only	39	31
Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate	13 332	244
Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate	10 505	649
Bantu Education Diploma (now known as Secondary Teacher's Diploma)	239	204
L.P.T.C. or H.P.T.C. and a special course	331	69
Degree and professional qualifications	505	460
Technical qualifications	43	16
	<hr/> 29 590	<hr/> 1 830

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1966, p. 254.

2. *ibid.*, p. 253. There were at the same time 529 White teachers employed in schools for Africans.

The Institute of Race Relations, commenting on the figures, pointed out that in the first category, 'neither degree nor professional qualifications', there may be teachers who have merely a Standard 6 certificate.

About 96 per cent of these were employed at primary community schools or farm schools.

While the number of pupils in secondary and training schools together had more than doubled between 1949 and 1963, the number of teachers had increased by barely 15 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

The pupil-teacher ratio was: lower primary classes—55 pupils per teacher; higher primary classes—50; post-primary classes—35. At the beginning of 1955 the quota per teacher in infant classes was raised from 90 to 100 pupils.

It is useful to compare the pupil-teacher ratios in public schools in the republic. Table 27 gives the figures for the period 1946-63.

### *Teachers in White schools*

In 1963 there were 31,597 White teachers in White schools, while in 1962 approximately one White teacher in three held a university

1. *Secondary Education for Africans*, South African Institute of Race Relations, p. 8 (RR./96/65).



TABLE 27. Comparative pupil-teacher ratio <sup>1</sup>

Year	White	Coloured and Indian	African
1946	24	38	45
1951	25	30	46
1956	23	34	49
1963	23	31	58

1. *Statistical Yearbook, 1964*, Table E9, p. 12, 15, 17;

*Statistical Yearbook, 1965*, p. 414-15, 422-3, 428-9, 434-5;

*Education and the South African Economy. The 1961 Educational Panel, Second Report*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1966, p. 57.

degree.<sup>1</sup> All teacher training for European students in South Africa since 1928 is post-matriculation. Most of the institutions offer a course of two years for women, with the option of a third year's specialized course. Men usually take a three-year course. Secondary teachers are trained at universities. The Lower Secondary Teacher's Diploma is obtained after three years' post-matriculation study, the course being partly academic and partly professional. The lowest post-graduate certificate obtainable is the Secondary Teachers' Diploma.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 28. Comparative qualifications of teachers <sup>1</sup>

Qualification	African %	Coloured %	Asian %	White %
Degree plus professional qualifications	1.95			
Degree only	0.05			
Bachelor's degree		3.50	9.65	27.92
Master's degree		0.13	0.15	3.01
Doctor's degree		0.03	0.07	0.41

1. Stanley G. Osler, *Pyramids and Peoples*, South Africa, 20 October 1964, p. 17 (ronceod).

The problems of finance for African schools and the effect that this has on the salaries and the recruitment of teachers have already been discussed.

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 257.

2. International Court of Justice, *South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia and Liberia v. the Republic of South Africa)*. Counter-memorial filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, Vol. VII, 1963, p. 184.

The ratios of the salaries of African teachers to those of White teachers with the same qualifications were 41.9 per cent for men and 37.9 per cent for women. This was in 1965.<sup>1</sup> Salary increases for White teachers in 1966 have further increased this ratio.

## 9 School libraries

'The school library is an organic, vital and functional part of the education structure existing for the quality teaching and quality education of the whole child as a creative, informed, intelligent, integrated and abundant personality in a world of new dimensions and changes.'<sup>2</sup>

For children who could normally not be provided with books at home, the school library can be their introduction to the world of literature which lies outside the school syllabus. An examination of the school library service for one area in South Africa illustrates that the importance of school libraries is recognized by library authorities and by librarians, but it also illustrates that libraries are geared not to the population as a whole, but mainly to the White section.

The Transvaal Education Department Library Service runs an education library and a schools' library service. In 1962 the education library had a collection of approximately 200,000 volumes, 600 periodicals and 5,000 pictures to serve teachers and officials of the education department throughout the province.

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 255.

2. *Programme for Future Library Development in the Republic of South Africa, Article 4.1.3.1.*, as adopted by the National Conference, Pretoria, 5 and 6 November 1962, published in *South Africa Libraries*, Vol. 30, 1 January 1963, p. 94.



The school library had four full-time school library advisers who visited schools in the province, and vacation courses in school librarianship were offered to school librarians.

Each new school was given a grant for the purchase of basic material, while after this there were free annual allocations based on enrolment, and an R.1 to R.2 subsidy.

There was a rebinding scheme which in 1962 handled 100,000 books per year. Standards for library buildings had been drawn up and each new school was automatically provided with a spaciouly equipped library, while when old schools were being repaired extensively a library and library workroom were automatically attached. Guides for book selection and book lists were circulated and a special book classification had been adapted for the service. Two professional associations brought together school librarians: the Transvaal School Library Association and the School and Children's Library section of the Southern Transvaal Branch of the South African Library Association. However, this service was in the main restricted to schools for White children although Coloured and Indian schools were given some grants for the purchase of books and were permitted a quota of books for central rebinding.

Provincial authorities did not provide libraries for African schools, for while Coloured and Indian schools were still governed by the provincial education department and so had theoretically the same financing arrangements as White schools, the Bantu Education Act had placed African schools under the care of the Department of Bantu Education, and so African school libraries were no longer the responsibility of the provincial authorities.

D. M. Turner, F.S.A.L.A., reported in an article<sup>1</sup> with regard to school libraries that:

'little progress seems to have been made... on the whole libraries in non-White schools are poor or entirely absent and children who wish to read use such public library facilities as are available to them.'

This gap is particularly serious when one considers the economic situation in many non-White homes which makes book buying financially difficult. The gap must also be seen in terms of demand. In the

1. D. M. Turner, F.S.A.L.A., 'School Libraries in South Africa: 1952-1962', *South African Libraries*, Vol. 30, No. 4, April 1963.

estimates for 1963-64 R.2,800 was allowed for school libraries in African schools. The Department subsidized the purchase of school library books on a half-cost basis—the other half to be met from school funds. The maximum subsidy was 2½ cents per pupil for Standards 1 and 2, 5 cents per pupil in the higher grades. No primary school however could receive more than R.20 a year, and no post-primary school more than R.50. There were regulations laid down as to the selection of books. The number of books were to be divided equally between the 'Bantu' language, Afrikaans and English, they were to be chosen from a particular list of 1,198 recommended books, and the subsidy would be paid only if circuit inspectors were given the right of inspection of existing stocks, to ensure that unsuitable literature was not being provided for school reading.<sup>1</sup>

Johannesburg Public Libraries reported that the majority of their present non-European readers were children. Of the total circulation of the non-European services 70 per cent were children's books.<sup>2</sup>

At the Graaf-Reinet section of the Cape Province Libraries non-European membership in 1958 showed 75 per cent to be children.<sup>3</sup>

However, Johannesburg librarians were dissatisfied with the selection of books available for non-European children. Teaching tended to make them literate principally in the vernacular and there were few children's books available in African languages.<sup>4</sup>

The public libraries, poorly staffed, poorly equipped with inadequate book stocks, could not supplement the lack of books in school libraries (see Part III, Chapter 5). One of the aims of providing books to school children is to encourage at an early age the habit of reading—this can not be done in South Africa under the present system of book provision.

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1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964.
  2. Johannesburg Public Library, *Annual Report, 1963-64*, p. 10.
  3. Province of the Cape of Good Hope, *Report of the Director of Library Services for the years 1958 and 1959*, p. 27.
  4. Johannesburg Public Library, *Annual Report, 1962-63*, p. 2.



## 10 Technical and vocational education

The Eiselen Commission found that in 1949 vocational and technical training of Africans was being given in a variety of institutions. Besides technical classes in primary schools there were industrial or handi-craft centres in some towns, and industrial departments attached to mission schools. The Union Department of Education Arts and Science had opened a school for African artisans at Zwelitsha to train African building operatives for building schemes in African areas, and the department subsidized vocational training given by provincial governments.<sup>1</sup>

There was no uniformity in the duration of courses given, and the commission commented on the slow growth of industrial education of a really vocational nature.<sup>2</sup>

The Eiselen Commission suggested an expansion of technical education. In its tentative scheme for educational development the commission mentions as one of its objectives the training in 'vocational and polytechnical schools [of] all those who can be absorbed by the development plan or the present Bantu society'. The commission gives figures for the next ten years, during which period the number of places in 'industrial' schools available, 2,170 in 1949, should be raised to 6,000.

The Vocational Education Act of 1959 and its amendments of 1958 (valid for vocational education for all races) and 1961 continued in the field of African vocational and technical training the centralization in administration and financial control which was the policy in other spheres of African education.

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1. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951*, p. 36 (The Eiselen report).

2. *ibid.*

It is difficult to give a clear view of the actual situation with regard to technical and vocational training. To an extent private industry trains Africans in specific jobs. The following data give, however, a general idea of what kind of training is offered by the Bantu Education Department.<sup>1</sup>

### *Technical schools*

Boys who have obtained a continuation pass in Standard 6 (i.e., first- or second-class pass)<sup>2</sup> may apply for admission to one of the six technical schools conducted by the Bantu Education Department at Mamelodi (Pretoria), Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, St. John's College (Umtata), Amanzimtoti (South of Durban) and Edendale (Pietermaritzburg).

They take a three-year course leading to a Junior Certificate (technical) examination.

Enrolment figures in 1963 in technical subjects for the six schools combined were: building construction, 101; carpentry, joinery, cabinet making, 127; electrotechnics, 51; general mechanics, 65; drawing and draughtsmanship, 32; a total of 376.

Thirty-nine boys qualified at the end of 1964.

It would appear, from discussions with instructors at several of the schools concerned, that the Technical Junior Certificate course is not adequate to produce competent tradesmen, and that the boys need at least a year's further specialized training in their trades.

### *Trade schools*

Departmental trade and vocational schools are situated mainly in rural areas. This is deliberate. The Minister of Bantu Education explained this policy:

'I can only say that the intention is in the first place to concentrate vocational training mainly in the Bantu areas, in order to meet the need which exists for people with vocational training to assist in the development of the Bantu communities themselves.'<sup>3</sup>

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1966, p. 270 ff.

2. There are three classes of those who pass. The proportion between them is not known.

3. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 17 June 1959, Col. 8314.



The schools accept boys or girls who have passed Standard 6 in the 1st, 2nd or 3rd classes. There are twelve trade schools for boys, with others planned for Zwelitsha and Umlazi and ten vocational schools for girls at which dressmaking and home-management are taught.

Two-year courses in various trades are provided at the institutions for boys. The total enrolment of 841 in 1963 was:

Building trades: bricklaying, concreting, plastering, 290; carpentry, joinery, cabinet-making, 277; plumbing, drain-laying, sheet-metal work, 29; electrical fitting and wiring, 0.

Other trades: leatherwork and upholstery, 57; tailoring, 98; general mechanics (including motor mechanics), 90.

On completion of their courses, boys receive a School Certificate in Vocational Training, which is recognized by the government for employment as qualified tradesmen in the reserves only.

Boys who have qualified in one of the four building trades, however, may seek employment, under an urban local authority or with the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, on a housing scheme for Africans. After they have gained at least a year's further practical experience, they may enter for trade tests and, if successful, are registered by the Department of Labour as skilled workers under the Bantu Building Workers' Act. They are then qualified to work on building projects in urban African townships as well as in the reserves. As access to courses, both at trade schools and technical schools depend on a standard 6 certificate, the number of Africans who can take advantage of these courses is small (see Part I, Chapter 5).

Table 29 shows the distribution of pupils according to trade in the six technical colleges and twenty-nine industrial or trade schools.

TABLE 29. Distribution of pupils according to trade<sup>1</sup>

Trade	Number	Trade	Number
Builders	123	General mechanics	155
Carpenters and joiners	456	Draftsmen	32
Bricklayers, plasterers, concrete workers	320	Tailors	98
Plumbers	61	Leatherworkers	57
Electrotechnicians	85	Dressmakers, needleworkers, spinners and weavers, homecraft	964

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965, p. 289.

The criticism of the technical and vocational training of Africans is principally a criticism of its aim. As expressed by the Eiselen Commission, those Africans shall have access to training who can be absorbed by 'the Bantu society'. Africans have limited access to qualified jobs outside the reserves and African townships.

The Native Building Workers' Act of 1931 authorized the training of skilled African builders for work on buildings occupied by members of their own racial group, and prohibited the employment of Africans on any other building work in urban areas unless special exemption is granted.

It is open to doubt whether the actual training facilities are sufficient even for the limited purpose of work in African areas, since the actual numbers of places in technical and vocational schools fall short of those envisaged in the Eiselen Report.

Table 30 compares recommendations of the Eiselen Commission with the state of provisions.

TABLE 30. African enrolment in vocational and technical classes <sup>1</sup>

Year	No. of places recommended by Eiselen Commission	Actual African enrolment in vocational and technical classes
1949	2 170	—
1955	4 000	2 237
1957	4 900	2 952
1959	6 000	1 379
1963	—	2 035

1. *Secondary Education for Africans, South African Institute of Race Relations*, p. 9.

### *Technical and vocational education for Coloureds and Asians*

Asians and Coloureds have schools of their own for technical and vocational training. The M. L. Sultan Technical College admits Asians primarily—although there are small numbers of Coloured and African students—with branches in Durban and elsewhere and in 1961 had an enrolment of 2,451 men and 2,118 women.<sup>1</sup>

A Cape Vocational High School for Coloured boys offers courses in English, Afrikaans, mathematics, general science, social studies,

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1962*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963.



physical science, technical drawing, workshop practice and theory, and metal work. In 1965, 256 pupils were registered.<sup>1</sup> A technical college for Coloured students is being erected in Athlone.

### *Technical and vocational training for Whites*

As a result of the passing of the Vocational Act in 1955, the South African Education Department completely reorganized vocational training for White students as well as for non-White students. Vocational education is now directly under the control of the Central Department of Education, Arts and Science. One of the aims was, in the field of White technical and vocational training, to make technical colleges free, bringing them in line with the free secondary education provided by the provinces. The larger institutions such as the Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Cape and Natal technical colleges were not taken over and are at present subsidized by the government.

Vocational high schools concentrate upon a particular field: technical high schools, housecraft high schools and commercial high schools. Commercial courses include the following subjects: first and second official languages, book-keeping, commerce, typing and shorthand.

Technical courses include first and second official languages, mathematics, physics, engineering, drawing and the scientific background to such trades as fitting, turning, welding, general motor-mechanics, etc.<sup>2</sup>

In 1965, there were 20,719 Whites in departmental vocational schools, 6,172 full time in technical colleges, 38,838 part time in technical colleges. At the same time there were 375 Africans in technical schools and 841 in trade schools.<sup>3</sup>

Expenditure on technical colleges for 1962 was R.3,441,078—of which R.227,814 went to the M. L. Sultan Technical College (see 'Technical and vocational education for Coloureds and Asians' above), 57.15 per cent coming from government grants.

1. Minister of Coloured Affairs in Senate Debates, *Hansard*, 1 June 1965, Cols. 3840-1.

2. Information quoted here from *World Survey of Education*. III: *Secondary Education*, Paris, Unesco, 1961, p. 1121-2.

3. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1965, op. cit., p. 270-1.

## 11 Adult education

In 1959 the Minister of Bantu Education gave as an estimate that 80 per cent of the Africans in the 7-20 age group could be considered literate. In 1963 he gave 40 to 50 per cent as the general African literacy rate.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly then, a high percentage of the adult African population is illiterate. The estimates of the Tomlinson Report, as well as the 1951 census, indicated that this illiteracy rate is greatest in rural districts.

One could reasonably expect, then, that adult education would be used as a method of combating illiteracy and, furthermore, that there would be an attempt to establish adult classes particularly in rural areas. Adult education is not, moreover, simply making adults literate—it can provide an opportunity for those who have left school to continue formal education in later life. This latter function would be particularly important among Africans in South Africa regardless of the literacy rate, simply because of the high number of drop-outs at both primary and secondary level.

That these aims in adult education were recognized by some groups in South Africa is reflected in a statement of the Council of the Institute of Race Relations. It pointed out in 1949 that adult education was:

‘an important means of making good deficiencies in youth, closing the dangerous sociological gap between generation and generation, and opening up a fuller and more useful life for the individual.’<sup>2</sup>

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 13 March 1959, Col. 2462 ff.; *ibid.*, 14 May 1963, Col. 5976 ff. Here quoted from Muriel Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 114-15.

2. M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 167.



A government report on adult education had earlier stated:

'The concentration of large groups of non-Europeans in towns and villages, on afforestation and irrigation schemes and road construction works offers exceptional opportunities for combating illiteracy among them and at the same time strengthening their desire for further education.'<sup>1</sup>

The Eiselen Commission reported that the most important venture in the field of fundamental education up to 1949 was being undertaken by the South African Institute of Race Relations which was experimenting in the Laubach method of literacy.<sup>2</sup> Voluntary organizations and committees—African as well as European—were also engaged in adult education. It was estimated that 8,500 Africans were attending recognized subsidized schools and classes.<sup>3</sup>

The Johannesburg Central Committee for non-Europeans ran classes for about 2,770 African adults, while the Cape non-European Night Schools Association ran twelve schools with an enrolment of about 1,100 Africans. Classes were also being run in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth and East London.<sup>4</sup>

In 1951 the Government created a National Advisory Council for Adult Education to replace the National Council for Adult Education and the National Council for Physical Education. This was done according to a recommendation of the Committee of Enquiry appointed in 1943 by the Minister of Education to investigate the situation of Adult Education in South Africa.<sup>5</sup>

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act made it illegal to conduct an unregistered school and 1955 the Native Affairs Department took over the admission of grants for African night schools and continuation classes. A regulation in 1957, revised in 1962, strengthened the provision of the Bantu Education Act (1953). All night schools and continuation classes for Africans were to be registered with the Bantu Education Department if they catered for ten or more pupils.

The new regulations (1957 and 1962)<sup>6</sup> included among others the provision that schools or classes in a White registration area must

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1. Union of South Africa, *Adult Education in South Africa. Report by the Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Minister of Education, South Africa, 1946*, p. 37.

2. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51*, p. 68.

3. M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Union of South Africa, *Adult Education in South Africa*, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

6. Government notices 1414 and 1415 of 13 September 1957; R26 of 5 January 1962.

hold a permit from the Group Areas Board and that no pupil may be admitted unless he or she is over the age of sixteen and is an employee resident in the area, or is employed at the mine, factory or farm offering courses. The persons in control must be White, and where there are advisory boards they must consist of White members only.

In African urban residential areas, night schools were to be henceforth controlled by the school board, or by separate committees set up by the board. Private organizations conducting classes in African areas were required by 1 January 1958 to hand over control to these school boards or committees.

The school boards and committees are responsible for financing the schools and classes, although the Department of Bantu Education could, if funds were available, pay subsidies towards the cost of rent, light, water and sanitation as well as partial subsidies on teachers' salaries.

Two main issues are raised by these new regulations. The first is finance. The principle that the Africans should be mainly responsible for financing their education was to be applicable to adult education as well as to primary, secondary and university education. In 1958-59 the sum of R.46,000 was voted for grants to night schools and continuation classes for Africans. In 1960 this sum came down to R.20,000; in 1962-63 it was reduced to R.2,000; in 1963-64 it was further reduced to R.1,000; and in 1965 grants were discontinued.<sup>1</sup> The Africans already have to bear the major cost of an expanding primary and secondary education. In addition they are now being asked to finance completely night schools and continuation classes for adults.

The second issue concerned schools for Africans and classes in White areas. These are the areas where most Africans work. African locations and townships are far from the city centre, and travelling to them after work adds the fatigue of distance and loss of time, to the fatigue of working. It would seem normal to expect that adult classes for Africans could be conducted within the area in which they work. However, the Minister of Bantu Education put himself on record as being opposed 'to the existence of a large number of night schools in our White urban residential areas'.<sup>2</sup>

In Pretoria alone, eight schools in White suburbs were forced to close, and this pattern was repeated in other White areas.

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1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 243; M. Horrell, op. cit., p. 116.

2. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 17 June 1959, Vol. 20, Col. 8313.



The high number of Africans who leave school before reaching higher primary (at the age of 10 years) has been indicated earlier in this report. Even if they can be considered to be functionally literate at the end of this period, the difficulty of obtaining education afterwards must decrease their desire and their ability to read or write.

The Committee of Enquiry into the State of Adult Education recommended in 1953:

'That for all non-Europeans who have reached the age of 14 years and who do not attend any approved day-schools, or who have complied with the provincial educational requirements, if and when instituted, irrespective of the standard attained by them, part-time classes be instituted on the same basis as for Europeans, wherever and whenever the demand for such classes warrant such a step. . . .'

This recommendation has not been carried out.

## 12 University education

### *Africans*

As early as 1948, the year the National Party came to power, Dr. F. Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa, made the following statement in parliament:

'An intolerable state of affairs has arisen here in the past few years in our university institutions, a state of affairs which gives rise to friction, to an unpleasant relationship between Europeans and non-

Europeans. . . . We do not want to withhold higher education from the non-Europeans and we will take every possible step to give both the natives and the Coloured peoples university training as soon as we can, but in their own sphere; in other words in separate institutions.’<sup>1</sup>

The universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, the Orange Free State and the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education did not accept non-White students. This was true also of Rhodes University except for certain post-graduate courses.

Cape Town and the Witwatersrand accepted non-White students and are known as ‘Open Universities’. In addition the University of Natal (sometimes, but not consistently called an open university) accepted non-European students but in segregated classes, except for certain post-graduate classes.<sup>2</sup>

Until 1959 there was a certain amount of segregation at the open universities with regard to extra-curriculum activities. At the University of Cape Town no university residences were available for non-Whites, and at the University of Witwatersrand there was a separate residence for non-Whites. Segregation in regard to sporting activities was maintained either as a matter of definite university policy or at any rate in actual practice.<sup>3</sup>

At the open universities, meals were served in communal restaurants but, on the other hand, non-Whites were not admitted to university dances or balls.<sup>4</sup> A justification was attempted in the following manner:

‘The open universities believe that the advantages enjoyed by their non-White students under the policy of academic non-segregation far outweigh any disadvantages resulting from Social segregation, which involves *inter alia* the exclusion of non-Whites from certain sporting and social activities.’<sup>5</sup>

By the introduction of the Extension of University Education Act 1959 the government proposed to replace attendance of non-Whites at the open universities with ethnic group institutions—each group,

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1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, Vol. 64, Col. 219, 1948.

2. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities 1953-54*, p. 4. (The Holloway Report).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

5. A. Van der Sandt Centlives, ‘University Apartheid in the Union of South Africa’, *Apartheid, the Threat to South Africa's Universities*, p. 33.



African, Asian and Coloured having its own university, while for the Africans the group would again be divided according to rough tribal divisions. The aim of the government was that as separate universities for non-Whites became available, the White universities would be prohibited from admitting non-Whites.<sup>1</sup>

The University College at Durban was to be reserved for Indians, the University of the Western Cape for Coloureds, the medical faculty of the University of Natal for Indians, Coloureds and Africans, the former University College at Fort Hare for Khosa-speaking people, the University College at Ngoye for Zulu- and Swazi-speaking and the University College of the North for Sutu, Bendoa and Sanga.

The new course was not taken without opposition from academic quarters. The Holloway Commission of Enquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities states in its report of 1954 that in evidence submitted to the commission it was repeatedly represented that the application of segregation in regard to university training would be incompatible with the concept of academic freedom.<sup>2</sup> Professor E. G. Malherbe, himself a member of the Holloway Commission, wrote in 1957 that:

'the proposed legislation is a deviation from the age-old university tradition which has so far been maintained throughout the history of South African universities, the tradition by which the universities themselves, and not an external authority, determine the conditions of admission to their classes.'<sup>3</sup>

Both the Council of the University of Cape Town<sup>4</sup> and the Council of the University of Witwatersrand<sup>5</sup> passed resolutions opposing legislative enforcement of academic segregation on racial grounds, and pointed to the impossibility of providing equal but separate facilities.<sup>6</sup>

They also expressed the belief that the policy of academic

1. M. J. H. Viljoen, Minister of Education, *Star*, 22 November 1956.

2. *Commission of Enquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities*, p. 14 (The Holloway Report).

3. E. G. Malherbe, 'The University of Natal and the Separate University Legislation', *Apartheid and the World's Universities*, report on a meeting held in London, November 1957.

4. 12 December 1956.

5. 14 December 1956.

6. For their argument see: *The Open Universities in South Africa*, published on behalf of the Conference of Representatives of the University of Cape Town and the University of Witwatersrand, 1957.

non-segregation provided the conditions under which the pursuit of truth could best be furthered and that academic non-segregation promoted inter-racial harmony and understanding.

Kenneth Kirkwood reported that even in the Afrikaans medium universities of Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom and the Orange Free State there were individuals who opposed the act on the grounds that it would infringe the autonomy of the university, and that this infringement threatened Whites as well as non-Whites.<sup>1</sup>

Table 31 gives the number of non-Whites at universities in South Africa for 1953 and 1954.

TABLE 31. Attendance of non-Whites at South African universities, 1953 and 1954

University or college	African		Coloured		Asian	
	1953	1954	1953	1954	1953	1954
Cape Town	24	27	147	163	69	81
Witwatersrand	75	74	14	13	131	127
Natal	72	101	15	13	201	213
Fort Hare	338	314	33	36	13	30
TOTAL	509	516	209	225	414	441

The Extension of University Education Act, 1959, did not make it impossible for non-Whites to attend the open universities, but it made attending non-White institutions for Whites a criminal offence,<sup>2</sup> while non-Whites could only attend at any university on condition that the minister granted permission, that they had qualified for entrance, and thirdly that the council of the university which they wished to attend would allow them to register.

The reasons given for the act were as follows:

1. That the act represented a further step in the implementation of apartheid. Separate universities would complete apartheid in education, already developed for the elementary school upwards.
2. That intellectual leaders were needed for the separate groups and that these would be best produced in university institutions geared to their own language and their own culture.

1. Kenneth Kirkwood, 'The South African Universities and the Separate Universities Education Bill', *Apartheid and the World's Universities*, report on a meeting held in London, November 1957.  
 2. The maximum penalty is a fine of R.200 or six months' imprisonment.



3. That the situation at the open universities could only continue side by side with social segregation since the Whites there would not tolerate more than a minimum of social contact with non-Whites.
4. That although these measures would necessitate some limitations on the autonomy of universities, this was on behalf of an over-riding national interest.
5. The preliminary government expenditure would be £3 million (R. 6 million) with upkeep expenses of £200,000 (R.400,000) to £300,000 (R.600,000) annually, only part of this to be met by African taxation.
6. Control by the government was needed as it was necessary to prevent undesirable ideological developments—such as had disturbed the non-White institutions not directly under the charge of the Government, and as the 'Bantu authorities' had not developed to take over this control.
7. Separate universities would open high university posts to non-Whites.<sup>1</sup>

A 'conscience clause' is upheld by all White South African universities except Potchefstroom. It provides that no test of religious belief shall be imposed on any person as a condition of his becoming or continuing to be a student or member of the staff. One interesting omission was the conscience clause from the regulations governing the new ethnic universities.<sup>2</sup>

A government proclamation issued in December 1960 decided that Africans would no longer be allowed to register for the first time at an open university (other than the University of South Africa) in the departments of chemistry, physics, zoology, botany, mathematics, applied mathematics, geography, psychology, agriculture, social work, anthropology, native administration, Bantu languages, classic languages, philosophy, political science, law, divinity or education.

Table 32 gives the enrolment of non-White students in South African universities during 1964, while Table 33 gives the comparative figures for student enrolment and degrees awarded for each racial group in 1959.

1. Minister of Education, House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 27-29 May 1957.

2. Muriel Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 131.

TABLE 32. Enrolment of non-White students in South African universities during 1964 <sup>1</sup>

University or college	Coloured	Asian	African
Fort Hare	...	3	274
North	—	—	307
Zululand	—	—	180
Western Cape	389	—	—
Indian	—	898	—
Cape Town	... <sup>2</sup>	75	7
Natal	37	457	132
Rhodes	—	6	—
Witwatersrand	14	123	11
South Africa	... <sup>3</sup>	275	986
TOTAL		1 837	1 897

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965, p. 291.

2. There were 327 in 1962.

3. There were 343 in 1962. It should be noted that the University of South Africa gives courses by correspondence and awards external degrees.

... = Data not available.

TABLE 33. Comparative student enrolments and numbers of degrees awarded at South African universities, 1959.

Subject	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Total
Humanities	1 196 (92)	386 (27)	905 (39)	9 985 (1 878)	12 472 (2 036)
Education	70 (37)	81 (23)	67 (19)	2 095 (625)	2 313 (704)
Fine arts	—	6	16 (1)	1 295 (135)	1 317 (136)
Law	31 (3)	13 —	17 —	838 (142)	899 (145)
Social sciences	61 —	66 —	73 (5)	6 657 (610)	6 857 (615)
Natural sciences	149 (17)	123 (15)	173 (22)	5 208 (833)	5 653 (887)
Engineering	4 —	2 —	24 —	2 608 (192)	2 638 (192)
Medical sciences	138 (6)	74 (7)	176 (11)	2 748 (219)	3 136 (243)
Agriculture	11 (3)	— —	1 —	1 441 (217)	1 453 (220)
Unspecified	211 —	71 —	64 —	2 306 (4)	2 652 (4)
TOTAL	1 871 (158)	822 (72)	1 516 (97)	35 181 4 855	39 390 (5 182)



Table 34 shows a comparison of degrees and diplomas awarded to non-White students in 1962 (excluding diplomas awarded at the non-White university colleges). A low proportion of the students qualified in science, or studies related to it; of the graduates 22 Asians, 14 Africans and 6 Coloureds qualified in medicine; 2 Asians obtained a Bachelor's degree in architecture, 1 African qualified in civil engineering and 1 Coloured student obtained a Master's degree in science.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 34. Comparison of degrees and diplomas awarded to non-White students in 1962

Award	Coloured	Asian	African
Doctorate	—	1	—
Master's degree	2	—	1
Honours degree	1	13	16
Bachelor's degree	36	108	73
Diploma	27	37	13
TOTAL	66	159	103

Roughly one-third of the non-White students were trained at Fort Hare University College. This college was founded in 1916 with funds provided mainly by the churches, and was the only existing institution which was specifically established for the higher education of the African community.

Fort Hare represented for non-Europeans, and particularly for Africans, a special place. It had trained many of the African leaders and they themselves had played a big part in its development.

By the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act, the management and maintenance of Fort Hare was transferred from the hands of private individuals to that of the State, in order to bring Fort Hare into line with the government's policy of separate development. 'Fort Hare, as it exists at the moment, does not fit in with the plan for the development of the various national groups in South Africa as envisaged in the Extension of University Education Act and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act.'<sup>2</sup>

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, op. cit., p. 291.

2. *The Transfer of the University College of Fort Hare*, a speech delivered in the Senate on 26 June 1959, by the Minister of Bantu Education, the Honourable Mr. W. A. Maree, M.P., issued by the Information Service of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, 1960, p. 7.

The Principal, Professor H. R. Burrows was not reappointed when the Bantu Education Department assumed control. The vice-principal, Z. K. Matthews, was informed that he would be reappointed provided that he resigned from the African National Congress. He refused to accept the appointment under these conditions. Two professors were not reappointed, and two professors, a senior lecturer, a lecturer, the registrar and the librarian were retired on superannuation. Four members of the staff resigned. In October 1959, the Fort Hare students passed a resolution stating, 'The government, in its dictatorial action in dismissing our staff members without stating any reasons, has added to the atmosphere of insecurity and uncertainty that has engulfed Fort Hare during the past few years. . . . But let it be noted, once and for all that our stand as students of Fort Hare and as the future leaders of our country, upholding the principles of education as universally accepted remains unchanged and uncompromising. Our outright condemnation of the university apartheid legislation remains steadfast. . . .'<sup>1</sup>

As a result of this, eleven students were not readmitted to the college.<sup>2</sup>

New regulations were passed controlling the registration and behaviour of students. Students at ethnic group colleges must apply each year for permission to report for registration, and with the application form must send a testimonial of good conduct by a minister of religion.<sup>3</sup>

The minister may refuse registration even if the candidate complies with all other conditions of registration. However, since the applicants are not informed as to the reason for the rejection of their applications, they cannot question the decision of the minister.<sup>4</sup> No student or person not under the jurisdiction of the college may be upon the college grounds as a visitor without the permission of the rector, or his duly authorized representative, and a special regulation forbids any Fort Hare student or group of students from visiting any other

1. Quoted from the *Sunday Times*, 11 October 1959, in M. Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, op. cit., p. 137.

'The Minister of Bantu Education was reported as having said, "I disposed of their services because I will not permit a penny of any funds of which I have control to be paid to persons who are known to be destroying the Government's policy of Apartheid".'

2. Mr. Rautenbach, *Verbatim record of the testimony in the South West Africa cases—Ethiopia v. South Africa, Liberia v. South Africa*, International Court of Justice, The Hague, CR.65/75 p. 21-38.

3. M. Horrell, op. cit., p. 149.

4. Mr. Rautenbach, op. cit., p. 65 ff.



institutions without the permission of the institution concerned and then only on such conditions as may be determined.<sup>1</sup>

The government has established ethnic group colleges to provide education for African, Asian and Coloured students. Since one of the aims of these institutions was to provide 'intellectual leadership' for these communities, as well as expanding educational opportunities, one would expect that from 1959 to 1966 there would have been an appreciable increase in the number of non-White students at universities and university colleges. Table 35 gives the enrolment figures for non-White students at universities and university colleges in 1965.

TABLE 35. Enrolment of non-White students at universities and university colleges, 1965<sup>1</sup>

University or College	African	Asian	Coloured
North	391	—	—
Zululand	243	—	—
Fort Hare	322	—	—
Western Cape	—	—	416
Indian	—	1 008	1
Cape Town	5	70	164
(medical school)	—	57	86
Natal	21	149	19
(medical school)	111	169	17
Rhodes	—	25	—
Witwatersrand	7	143	5
South Africa (external degrees only)	1 310	875	427

1. The figures in this table are taken from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1966, p. 274. See details of House of Assembly Debates, 10 April 1964, Cols. 3991-3. (Figures given by the Minister of Bantu Affairs and the Minister of Indian Affairs.)

By October 1965 there were only 181 Africans at open universities, and of these, 80 were medical students in the segregated classes of Natal.

The total number of African students at Natal was estimated at 100, the other 81 Africans being distributed between the two universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town, and chiefly in those faculties for which the African colleges made no provision.

1. M. Horrell, *op. cit.*, p. 149-50.

In 1965, of 145 applications made by non-White students to the minister for permission to study at the open universities, 24 were granted. The reasons given for this low percentage was that in some cases the African colleges made provision for their study, or that they could do the subject through correspondence courses at the University of South Africa while some of the applicants had not qualified for entrance to any university.

Neither enrolments, nor degrees awarded, justify the statement that establishment of ethnic group colleges has provided increased university facilities for non-Whites.<sup>1</sup> However, these universities were well-built, with excellent facilities, quite comparable to those in the White universities.

It was pointed out by those who opposed the government measures that the cost per student would increase if they were going to move the non-White students at the open universities to Fort Hare or to the non-White department at the University of Natal or if they were going to establish new institutions.

At a conference of the open universities in 1957, the problem was summed up: 'If, notwithstanding the evidence that the "separate but equal" doctrine has no place in university education, and despite the financial burden and economic waste which we have demonstrated, a government in South Africa were nevertheless to provide equal, and not merely separate, facilities for non-Whites, sooner or later the attempt will place an unbearable strain on it or on later administration.'<sup>2</sup> In 1960 the State spent £766 per student in non-White colleges, compared with £137 per White student.

In these colleges there are two councils: one White, the other African. The African council is purely advisory. Students are not allowed to elect their own student governing bodies, nor are they allowed to affiliate with any national organization.

The facilities first started were letters, arts, philosophy and education (see Part II). The government claimed that the result of a survey made on the need for instituting training for engineers at ethnic group colleges showed that only five African students had declared their

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1. The Minister of Bantu Education stated in the House of Assembly on 11 February 1964, that the following numbers of Africans had obtained university degrees since 1956: 1956, 144; 1957, 182; 1958, 177; 1959, 197; 1960, 186; 1961, 182; 1962, 105.

2. *The Open Universities in South Africa*, published on behalf of the Conference of Representatives of the University of Cape Town and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, held in Cape Town, 9-11 January 1957. For this argument see p. 40-7.



desire to study engineering—and before any serious preparations could be made for this faculty to be added to the ethnic group colleges the five students had changed their minds.<sup>1</sup>

In the new colleges considerable investments have been involved. The annual expenditure is high if one considers the small number of students enrolled. At the African colleges in 1965 the cost per student was £1,000. This is so in spite of the fact that very little is offered with regard to training in natural sciences.

The administration and maintenance of the colleges is completely under the direction of the minister. His specific powers include:

1. Appointment of members of the college councils.
2. Designation of the chairman of the council.
3. Appointment of the principal and other members of the Senate.
4. Appointment of all members of the staff.
5. Regulation of all aspects of staff working conditions—including remuneration, promotion, transfer, discipline, conduct and the occupation of official quarters.
6. Regulation of the function and constitutions of the boards of faculties.
7. Regulation of the courses of instruction and training at each university college.
8. The right to refuse to admit students if he decides that this is in the interests of the university college concerned.
9. Regulation of places of residences of students, and entry into particular classes.
10. The right to make different regulations with respect to different university colleges and in respect of different persons, groups, classes or races employed there.
11. Dismissal of any employee who publicly comments adversely upon the administration of any department of the government or of any province, or of the territory of South West Africa, a teacher being guilty of misconduct if he identifies himself with any propaganda or activity or acts in a manner calculated to promote antagonism against any section of the population, or impedes the activities of any government department.

The position of the State as far as African higher education was concerned was summed up by the Minister of Bantu education,

1. Mr. Rautenbach, *op. cit.*

Mr. W. A. Maree, 'Where one has to deal with under-developed peoples, where the State has planned a process of development for those peoples, and where a university can play a decisive role in the process and directions of that development, it must surely be clear to everyone that the State alone is competent to exercise the powers of guardianship in this field . . .'<sup>1</sup>

### *Whites*

There are eight residential universities for White students in South Africa. They are administered under the Universities Act No. 61 of 1955 and its amendments of 1959 and 1961. By this act, these universities and the University of South Africa (giving mainly extra-mural courses) fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, Arts and Science. The minister appoints a University Advisory Committee to advise him on general matters arising out of the provisions of the act. So far this advice has been mainly on financial matters. The Committee of University Principals—also constituted by the act—advises on matters related to the admission of students, period of attendance, etc.

There is no representation from non-White colleges on this committee. The universities themselves decide who should fill vacant posts, and the admittance of any particular university student.

In 1960 the total income of the eight residential universities was £7.1 million, of which the government's contribution was 66 per cent.<sup>2</sup> In 1960 there were about 30,000 full-time students in those universities.

Students' councils are elected by the students themselves and are permitted to draw up their own constitutions.

In June 1963, enrolment at White universities was: Cape Town 4,943, Natal 3,132, Orange Free State 2,077, Potchefstroom 1,899, Pretoria 8,116, Rhodes 1,631, Stellenbosch 4,819, Witwatersrand 5,645, University of South Africa 9,671.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *The Transfer of the University College of Fort Hare*, op. cit.

2. See *World Survey of Education*. IV: *Higher Education*, Paris, Unesco, 1966, p. 1003. All White universities in South Africa are residential with the exception of the University of South Africa which offers external degrees to both White and non-White students.

3. 1963 *Report of Department of Education, Arts & Science* (R.P.13/1964), here quoted from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1963, p. 290.



The South African case in African education may be briefly stated as follows:

1. South Africa is rapidly expanding African education.
2. Africans are being trained to 'take over' in the 'Bantu homelands'.
3. Separate development, in education, as in every other sphere promotes rather than hinders good race relations.

There is no doubt that African education has expanded at the primary level and the Africans themselves have financed this expansion. At secondary and university levels, the situation is different. Here African education has remained almost stationary. That Africans are being trained to 'take over' in the reserves cannot be supported either by the numbers who graduate, and so can hold official positions afterwards, nor by the degree of administrative responsibility which is at present permitted to them. That they are not being trained to play their part in a total South African society is explicitly stated by the South African Government itself. A key question in modern industrialized states is the number of nationals who are being trained for high-level scientific and technical posts. Here the situation is clear: Africans who are being trained at university level are being trained to be teachers (mainly in the humanities) and social workers. They are not being trained to participate at any meaningful level in scientific research.

Nor can it be said that separate development in education promotes good race relations. The inequalities inherent in the educational system would in themselves be damaging to racial harmony. But one of the aims of the educational system set out in policy statements of both the government and influential groups in the White sectors of society, is group nationalism. This is translated into the slant of textbooks and has real implications for the co-existence of English and Afrikaner in the same society, as well as implications for the continued harmonious co-existence of Africans, Asians, Coloureds and Whites. In fact, the effects of apartheid on education go far beyond the racial discrimination that the facts and figures of this report demonstrate. The most deplorable effect is on the South African child, whatever his colour and whatever the degree of intellectual capacity developed in him, who, in all cases, is educated within the restrictions of an ideology unacceptable to the world of today.

## II. Science

- '1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
- '2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary and artistic production of which he is the author.'

Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of  
Human Rights



# 1 Definition of scope

In this part the term 'science' is taken to include the social and the natural sciences as well as applications of science to engineering, medicine and agriculture.

The specific topics investigated in this survey include the effect of apartheid on:

1. The employment of non-White scientific and technical personnel after training and the supply of high-level manpower.
2. The effect of apartheid on scientific organizations.
3. The influence of apartheid on social field research.
4. International scientific and technical co-operation.

In some of these cases it is possible to draw specific conclusions. In others, however, this is more difficult because several factors other than the effect of the apartheid policy have been operative and a much closer investigation would be needed to assess the relative importance of the various factors. Nevertheless, even in these cases it may be useful to formulate the questions and suggest the direction in which further study is needed.

In Part I, problems of access to education including access to technical and vocational training and university training have been discussed. Their implication for the training of scientific personnel in South Africa is obvious. The small number of non-White pupils who complete secondary school, the small percentage of these who take science and mathematics as a subject, determine to some extent the number of non-White students who can proceed to science training, either at university level or at the level of technical college. The Minister of Bantu Education, in reply to a question in the House of Assembly, stated that, in 1964, 77 African students had attained the standard

required for admission to a degree course in science.<sup>1</sup> But here there is another block. Access to science faculties at universities is severely limited. Of the 103 Africans who obtained degrees in 1964, only 1 qualified in civil engineering and 14 in medicine. Of the 159 Asian graduates, 22 received medical degrees and 2 degrees in architecture. Moreover, lower-level training for Africans is hampered by the few technical colleges open to them (see Part I, chapters 2 and 10).

## 2 Patterns of technical employment and problems of manpower supply

Laws were enacted in South Africa as early as 1911 providing that certain skilled jobs in the mining industry be reserved for Whites only.<sup>2</sup>

Under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956, and its amendment of 1959, the Government may prohibit the replacement of employees of one race by those of another race, may reserve certain types of jobs to persons of a specified race, or may fix the number or percentage of persons of a particular race to be employed in particular industries.

The Government, in introducing this legislation, indicated that it was intended to protect the White labour force against the infiltration of non-Whites into skilled labour.<sup>3</sup>

However, legislation is not the only method of ensuring job discrimination in South Africa. The trade unions, for example, often see their role as protecting the White worker against the competition of

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 4 June 1965, cols. 7173-4.

2. Mines and Works Act, 1911 (amendments 1926 and 1956).

3. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, No. 18, 7 June 1955, col. 7156. Here quoted from *ILO Declaration*, 1964, p. 10, footnote 1.



the Black worker. As a result the trade unions have become one of the strongest supporters of a job reservation policy, and its corollary 'White supremacy' in the social and economic spheres.<sup>1</sup>

Discrimination in jobs, partly supported by legislation, partly by trade union pressure, is also supported by custom, making it difficult for non-Whites to obtain employment in technical and certain professional categories.

Thus not only is there 'inequality of opportunity for people of different races to obtain the level of general education necessary for access to all technical or higher training',<sup>2</sup> not only has the technical or higher training to be carried out in institutions of inferior academic status, but progress after the training period is equally difficult because of the very limited opportunities for employment. Indeed, the policies of private corporations with regard to the training facilities and opportunities for non-White scientists may even be more negative than those of the Government. It is difficult to persuade business executives to provide employment and advancement for non-White graduates. This lack of suitable employment opportunities undoubtedly dampens the enthusiasm of many a potential non-White scientist and may lead to mediocre performance and lack of interest in scientific training. Opportunities do exist in the areas of the so-called 'Bantu homelands'. In the declared non-White areas there has been an increasing demand for non-White teachers, social workers and librarians. However, there is little training in engineering or in agriculture, where the need for non-White specialists is probably greatest.

During the past five years there are records of only three non-White engineering graduates from South African universities: a Coloured electrical engineer (1964), an Indian radio engineer (1965) and an African civil engineer (1962). According to *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963*, this is the only African civil engineer who has ever graduated in the Republic.<sup>3</sup> He worked for a time with

1. For a list of job reservations see: *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965, p. 242. For a comprehensive survey of trade union practice, see: Muriel Horrell, *South African Trade Unionism*, Johannesburg, 1961, p. 13 ff. Africans are not allowed to form registered trade unions: *The Tomlinson report: Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa*, Pretoria, N.D., p. 17. See also: Leo Marquand, *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa*, London, Cape Town, New York, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 50.

2. Quoted from *ILO Declaration, 1964*, p. 8; see also Part I of this report.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 206. Verbatim record of the testimony of Professor C. H. Rautenbach, rector and vice-chancellor of the University of Pretoria, and chairman of the National Advisory Education Council of the Republic of South Africa before the International Court of Justice, The Hague, Tuesday, 5 October 1965.

the Benoni municipality but has now left for Swaziland where far higher rates of pay are available to African professional men. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1961*, comments: 'It is extremely difficult for non-Whites to train as engineers, architects, auditors and in various other professions because courses of study are not available at non-White colleges and they need special Ministerial permission to become full-time students at a university. Furthermore, few White firms are willing to accept them for practical training: this position has eased for engineering students as developmental works are extended in non-White areas, but is still difficult in others.'

In addition to the engineers, 5 Indian and 1 Coloured pharmacists are reported to have qualified in 1965, while in 1964 an African, who had earlier gone to the U.S.A. to study, obtained a B.Sc. in Agronomy at the University of North Carolina. In medicine the official government publication *The Progress of the Bantu Peoples towards Nationhood*<sup>1</sup> reveals that there were 120 Bantu medical doctors registered with the South African Medical and Dental Council:<sup>2</sup> Some of the disabilities suffered by highly qualified non-European medical specialists are illustrated by the following two incidents referred to in *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*. In 1961<sup>3</sup> an Indian, Dr. Dorasamy Chetty, a graduate of the University of the Witwatersrand and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, with many years of experience on malaria eradication programmes in the Far East with WHO, was unable to obtain a post in South Africa where he could practise and teach preventive medicine, while in 1962 'in terms of Government policy, a highly qualified African doctor was refused an appointment to the Livingstone Hospital for non-Whites in Port Elizabeth because in his post he would have had several Whites working under him'.<sup>4</sup>

The late Professor Edward Roux, the much-respected Professor of Botany at the Witwatersrand University until he was banned in 1964 under the Suppression of Communism Act and prohibited from entering his department, has illustrated the difficulties non-White scientists experience in finding a suitable outlet. In a letter written shortly before his death on 2 March 1966 in reply to a request for information relative to this survey he described the case of Joseph Kotsokoane.

1. Op. cit., p. 45 (not dated).

2. There were some Asian or Coloured doctors, too. Most likely, their number was rather small since the total number of non-White doctors in 1960 has been estimated at 130.

3. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1961*, op. cit., p. 221.

4. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1962*, op. cit., p. 171.



'A Suto, born in the Orange Free State, he took his B.Sc. in botany and zoology at Fort Hare. He taught in schools for some time, saved money and came to Witwatersrand in 1950 to do an honours course in botany. We gave him a fair training in plant physiology, in grassland ecology and he spent part of his year doing a botanical analysis of pastures in a Native Reserve in the Ciskei. When he had completed the degree the question of employment arose and I communicated with the Agricultural Section of the Department of Native Affairs. They were embarrassed because they had never had a post for a scientifically trained African. The only posts available for Africans were those of agricultural demonstrators, non-matriculants who worked under white district officers. Clearly Kotsokoane could not be made a district officer in a Reserve, because he would then be senior to certain white employees and might even have to give orders to a white typist. An official of the Department wrote to me saying that its policy was "to develop from the ground up, not from the bottom down". Finally they cooked up some sort of job for Kotsokoane in which he would be under the supervision of a white officer and in which he would have no white subordinates. The salary offered was £400 a year. Fortunately for him he was offered and accepted a job in Basutoland where he became one of four agricultural district officers, the other three being whites. All four had equal status. The salary at the time was £800 per year with a free house and other facilities. Joe is now principal of Basutoland's agricultural college.

Difficulties of finding suitable employment, despite the need and the small numbers concerned, do not apply only to graduates. They apply equally to non-Whites who have matriculated but are not able to proceed to a university course. These are the people who should become skilled technicians. Sheila van der Horst<sup>1</sup> writes:

'It is noteworthy that more difficulty is experienced by the Johannesburg Municipal Juvenile Employment Department in placing the handful of matriculated African youths in suitable employment than in placing any other category. Of 66 African boys who left school in 1961 after Standard VI, VIII or X, in mid-1962, 38 were in employment (mostly as labourers or clerical or office workers), 4 were continuing their studies and 24 were still seeking work. Of 73 girls, 15 were working, 3 were studying and 55 still seeking employment.'

1. *The Effects of Industrialisation on Race Relations in South Africa*, University of Cape Town, p. 134.

A similar survey of unemployment among the more educated African youths in the little country township of Graaf-Reinet in 1962 showed that two-thirds were still unemployed after six months. 'In many cases their frustration is extreme. There is no way up the economic ladder for them; no hope; no way out. Some sink into a cynical apathy, living a parasitic life on relations and friends, losing all self-respect, all sense of morality and obligation. Others, desiring above all else to justify their manhood by work, become rebels.'

Clearly the practice of apartheid and racial discrimination in employment acts to discourage non-Whites from undergoing training for skilled or professional work in science and technology, even if they were able to attain the educational requirements necessary for them to obtain admission to the available courses.

The pattern of employment is clear. The menial, unskilled jobs are occupied by Africans, the highly skilled jobs, professional, technical and administrative as well as most of the other white-collar jobs by Whites. The most striking feature of all is perhaps the very small proportion of Africans employed in skilled and semi-skilled industrial jobs. It is in this middle range of occupations that the various restrictions, either enacted by legislation or arising from the social colour bar, have combined to exclude the African. As pointed out by Muir and Turner,<sup>1</sup> 'In other societies large numbers of brighter children from the lowest classes would set their sights on technical and craft jobs. But this middle range of occupations is virtually closed to the African through legislation and through the social custom and tradition of the white population. In the African occupational structure there is a virtual hiatus between the professional and clerical occupations and the semi- and unskilled jobs.'

The Asians make an appreciable contribution to the labour force employed in clerical work and sales while both the Asians and the Coloureds contribute a proportion of skilled industrial workers comparable to that of the white population.

The over-all picture of the pattern of employment is a dearth of workers engaged in professional, managerial and clerical occupations in comparison with the situation in developed countries, while for the White population alone the distribution is very similar to that

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1. *Comparative Education*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1965, p. 303.



TABLE 36. Economically active population by occupation group: percentage distribution, 1960

Occupation group <sup>1</sup>	Country				
	Canada <sup>2</sup>	Netherlands	New Zealand <sup>2</sup>	Norway	South Africa
	%	%	%	%	%
a. Professional, technical and administrative	10.6 <sup>3</sup>	12.2	15.1	11.2	4.65
b. Clerical and sales	27.5 <sup>3</sup>	21.8	21.0	14.5	8.35
c. Industrial	35.8	42.8	41.7	44.9	34.2
d. Agriculture	11.7	10.8	14.5	19.4	30.4
e. Service and others	14.4	12.4	7.7	10.0	22.4

Source: *United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964*, table 10.

1. ISCO classification:

a. 0, 1—professional, technical, administrative, executive, managerial.

b. 2, 3—clerical and sales.

c. 5, 6, 7, 8—miners, quarrymen, workers in transport and communication, craftsmen, production process workers.

d. 4—farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers.

e. 9, X, others—service, sport and recreation, not classifiable, and members of the armed forces.

2. 1961.

3. Administrative, executive, etc., are included with clerical and sales.

for other developed countries. A barrier exists between skilled and unskilled employment across which it is difficult for the non-White, and in particular the African to pass.

It is not surprising in the light of Table 36 and Table 37 that South Africa faces a shortage of skilled manpower of quite daunting magnitude. It is obvious that the large proportion of unskilled work carried out by non-White labour requires at the same time a corresponding proportion of supervisory, higher administrative and technical personnel. Many writers have drawn attention to South Africa's grave shortages in this respect. In its Annual Economic Report for the year ended 30 June 1964 <sup>1</sup> the South African Reserve Bank drew attention to 'an insufficient supply of certain classes of skilled manpower. Such shortages were evident, for example, in the building, iron and steel, general engineering and motor industries'. The Deputy Minister of Labour told the Institute of Personnel Managers <sup>2</sup> that 2.6 per cent of all available jobs for White workers were unfilled. The shortages

1. Quoted in *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, op. cit., p. 234.

2. *Johannesburg Star*, 20 October 1964.

TABLE 37. Economically active population: percentage distribution of population groups by occupation, 1960

Occupation group	All races		African	Asian	Coloured	White
	Number employed	Distribution				
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Professional, technical and administrative	277	5.0	1.4	6.4	2.7	16.6
Clerical and sales	477	8.3	1.2	24.0	3.5	33.2
Skilled and semi-skilled industrial	422	7.4	0.6	20.9	20.3	22.5
Unskilled industrial	1 521	26.7	33.1	14.2	18.8	10.4
Agriculture	1 736	30.2	38.2	8.0	22.8	10.2
Service and others	1 280	22.4	25.5	26.5	31.9	7.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5 713</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

were greatest among professional and semi-professional men, technical workers and skilled tradesmen. In his paper *The Human Resources of the Republic of South Africa and their Development*,<sup>1</sup> Dr. S. Biesheuvel reported the results of a precise survey carried out by the South African Institute of Physics in collaboration with the South African Mathematical Association and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research on the available number of physicists and mathematicians with at least an M.Sc. degree and the estimated need in the immediate future. In the 46 organizations that participated in the survey, 40 per cent of the 295 posts for these two categories of scientists were vacant. The report regarded this estimate of the shortage as conservative as it was based on existing posts not truly reflecting the country's needs.

Biesheuvel also reports a survey carried out by the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research<sup>2</sup> which reported a shortage of 12 per cent among junior scientists with a B.Sc. degree and 10 per cent among professional engineers. This last figure, however, did not take account of posts 'filled by inadequately trained and qualified technicians'.

In the field of medicine the shortages are very large. The numbers of doctors per head of population in 1960 was 1 in 1,800 in South

1. Published by Witwatersrand University Press, 1963.

2. *Research, Educational and Social*, 3 (1), 1962 (Pretoria, National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, Department of Education, Arts and Sciences).



Africa, compared with 1 in 1,100 in the United Kingdom and 1 in 750 in the U.S.A.<sup>1</sup> and the Minister of Education, Arts and Science forecast a shortage of 1,500 doctors in 1965. This shortage is acute in the country districts and particularly acute in African areas. The reason for it is clear when it is recalled that in 1960 there were 130 non-White doctors only. Indeed, a very much larger number than the 1,500 doctors mentioned by the Minister would be needed to bring the number of doctors per head of population up to European standards. A considerable increase in the numbers of Africans receiving medical training would be needed to redress the shortage.

The Nursing Act (1957) provided that the Nursing Council, which deals with registration, training and discipline of nurses and midwives, should consist of White persons only. Separate registers for nurses and midwives of different population groups must be kept, and only in a case of emergency may a White nurse be employed under the control or supervision of a non-White nurse.

Biesheuvel<sup>2</sup> has discussed ways in which the shortage of skilled manpower would be alleviated through better use of White manpower resources. He concluded that more White manpower could be provided in the 'lower-professional, technical, middle-management and higher technical categories', but already difficulty was being caused by trying to employ the least capable 25 per cent of the White population in jobs beyond their capacity. 'First-line White supervisors of Black labour are frequently drawn from this group; but many lack the ability to instruct or to direct the work of others. . . . In every country a certain proportion of the labour force inevitably falls into this class and finds itself relegated to the bottom of the occupational pile. Here, however, the bottom of the pile is reserved for the Black worker and the less effective White workers have to be kept artificially apart or above them by means of statutory and conventional restrictions.'

The difficulties of providing the necessary high-level manpower are even greater, however. This type of manpower has been defined by the American scholar Harbison<sup>3</sup> as including professional men and technologists whose work clearly requires a university degree or equivalent training and senior administrators and managers carrying

1. Quoted in *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1963, op. cit., p. 252.

2. *The Human Resources of the Republic of South Africa and their Development*, 1963, p. 14.

3. 'High-level Manpower for Nigeria's Future' in *The Ashby Report on Higher Education in Nigeria*.

considerable policy and financial responsibility. Biesheuvel<sup>1</sup> estimated that a modern nation needs about 4 per cent of its economically active manpower to be of this type. Even if 8 per cent of the employed White manpower were employed in high-level posts this would still amount to only 1½ per cent of the total employed manpower. Advanced modern States find it difficult to provide 4 per cent of employed manpower for such posts. It is unlikely that South Africa could find three times or more than that proportion of White South Africans to fill such posts without a serious deterioration in efficiency. Indeed Biesheuvel<sup>2</sup> reports the results of a survey carried out by the South African National Institute for Personnel Research which led to the conclusion that there was 'little hope to meet from within the White group, the growing need for high-level personnel that now confronts South Africa'.

In his article 'Manpower Training: Educational Requirements for Economic Expansion', the South African scholar Malherbe<sup>3</sup> discusses the requirements not only of the very high level manpower but also of the lower level of technicians, teachers, junior administrators, managers and supervisors, etc. He quotes an address made in 1960 by Dr. F. Meyer, president of the National Development Foundation of South Africa. 'Why cannot we increase productivity and bring down the cost of living? Why cannot we modernise our factories? Why cannot we improve or expand our marketing and selling? and hundreds of similar questions you may ask. The answers are all the same, namely: because we do not have the trained managerial executive and technical manpower to plan, organize and administer these things. The opportunities are there. We can get the money, the materials and the equipment, but we cannot lay our hands on the trained manpower to turn ideas into action.'

It is clear that there is no solution to the requirements of high-level manpower other than by providing the training on the necessary vast scale that would enable sufficient members of the non-White population to contribute their share to the filling of technical, professional, administrative and managerial posts according to their ability.

A key role to scientific research and development is played by the technician. Depending on the type of work, from two to five or six

1. *South African Journal of Science*, 49 (1952), p. 120.

2. *The Human Resources of the Republic of South Africa and their Development*, p. 12.

3. *South African Journal of Economics*, 33 (1965), No. 1.



technicians may be needed for each professional officer. Several people have drawn attention to the severe shortage of technicians in laboratories in South Africa. For example, E. G. Malherbe writes<sup>1</sup> 'in South Africa the technicians appear to be in as short supply as professional engineers, if not more so, with the result that many professional officers of necessity dissipate their energies on non-professional work'.

In some very limited ways it is possible to make use of non-White technical staff, if they are available, but the educational system does not produce them. If they were available and one did use them, there would be social difficulties involved in providing separate facilities.

Even in Western European laboratories adequate technical help is not always available, for financial reasons, and generally speaking, South African universities are poorly provided for financially by standards in Western Europe and U.S.A. However, technical assistants are usually drawn from the class of highly skilled manual workers in which, as has been shown above, non-White workers are almost completely excluded. It appears, therefore, that the difficulties created by lack of technological assistance in South African laboratories can be attributed to racial discrimination and to lack of finance.

### 3 Effects of apartheid on scientific organization in South Africa

The main official organization responsible for research in South Africa is the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) which carried out research in the laboratories of its own institutes,

1. Ibid., 'Manpower Training; Educational Requirements for Economic Expansion'.

gives grants of about £250,000 per annum to universities and museums for specified research projects, sponsors medical research projects jointly with the Committee for Research in the Medical Sciences, University Medical Schools, etc., promotes co-operative research by industry through the formation of industrial research associations and undertakes sponsored projects for industrial firms on a contract basis.

Government-sponsored research is carried out also in the laboratories of the Atomic Energy Board and of a number of government departments of the national and provincial governments.

More than thirty private industrial organizations have substantial research laboratories.

Research work in basic science is carried out also in the laboratories of the various universities.

Almost all the scientific and technical posts are held by Europeans. A few departments in the universities employ as technicians some Africans, Indians, or Coloured persons (this is more frequently the case for the English-medium rather than the Afrikaans-medium universities). In the government research laboratories on the other hand the laboratory assistants, except in the very lowest categories, are always white.

During 1962 the South African Government began to put pressure on scientific associations to introduce racial segregation. Speaking at a conference of the Library Association in November of that year the Minister of Education, Arts and Science criticized the association for permitting non-Whites to become members and said that the Government expected these bodies to follow the pattern of apartheid and to immediately form separate associations for Whites and non-Whites. The Library Association decided to comply, to accept no further non-White members and to allow the existing eleven non-Whites to retain membership only until their own societies had been established.<sup>1</sup>

A few weeks later a letter was sent by the Minister to 14 scientific bodies that receive government subsidies (of between £40 and £400 per annum) in the following terms:

- 'i. It has been decided with reference to scientific and professional societies, no mixed membership is allowed and where this exists

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1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1963, op. cit., p. 78.



a separation must be effected immediately. Where, in a certain area, a non-White group consists of small numbers, they should be included in a larger geographical area.

- 'ii. With reference to separate scientific and professional societies the same procedure should be followed as has been announced for sport societies by the authorities some time ago. According to this, non-White societies should be combined by way of affiliation in national societies, which can appoint one or two representatives to attend periodically certain executive meetings of the national societies for whites. In this way channels can be created, not only for interchange of ideas, but also to pass on to non-white scientists the knowledge which has crystallised out in congresses and conferences of White scientists.
- 'iii. From the above-mentioned it is clear that if your constitution makes provision for membership of non-Whites, it will be necessary to modify it appropriately to ensure that your society shall qualify for financial support from the Government.
- 'iv. Speedy information would be appreciated on what the position of your society is, with reference to non-White membership.'

The Minister's letter caused a good deal of criticism and ridicule. *The Rand Daily Mail* (16 February 1963) commented editorially:

'A council member of the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies has revealed that there are only eight non-Whites among the 12,000 members of the 13 societies. Half of them are Chinese; none of them are voting members and none are active. . . . A sensible attitude would have been to leave the eight non-active, non-White scientists as an example of enlightenment under apartheid—in due course to be lauded by the South Africa Foundation. But the Minister cannot leave well alone. He demands a separate body for them.

'Could anything be more absurd? Or more likely to bring odium on South Africa's name in a field where so far it is unsullied?'

Apparently the societies did not respond, and early in 1964 the Minister took the matter up again. At that time, seven of the societies decided not to change their constitution to exclude non-White membership, one decided not to re-apply for a government subvention, and the remaining six were adopting a 'wait and see' attitude.

The attitude of some of the societies is illustrated by the answers to a questionnaire sent out recently by the Secretariat for the purpose of compiling this section of the report and which was addressed to fifteen societies or professional organizations.

The questions put to these organizations were as follows:

1. Do you admit to membership all suitably qualified people, irrespective of race?
2. What is the total membership of your organization?
3. How many persons of the (a) African; (b) Coloured; (c) Indian racial groups are members of your organization?
4. Do you have separate categories of membership for people of different racial groups?
5. Is your policy in these matters determined by government regulation?
6. Has your policy in relation to these questions had any effect on relations of your organization with similar organizations in other countries?

Six of the organizations failed to reply, one refused to answer the questions. The answers of the remainder are summarized in Table 38.

The Government does not yet appear to have carried out its threat, and subventions are still being paid to societies even though they have not segregated—the imposition of segregation in professional organizations would be equivalent to depriving non-White members of the right of discussion with their White colleagues in congresses and meetings. Such lack of discussion would greatly decrease the opportunities for the development of non-White members as competent scientists.

The policy of racial segregation in scientific societies is likely to cause unfavourable reactions against South African science where international relations are concerned. The important international scientific congresses are organized by the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). On 4 October 1958, at its Eight General Assembly in Washington, a resolution was passed on its policy of political non-discrimination which contains the following paragraphs:

1. To ensure the uniform observance of its policy of political non-discrimination, the ICSU affirms the right of the scientists of any country or territory to adhere to or to associate with international scientific activity without regard to race, religion or political philosophy.
4. Meetings or assemblies of ICSU or its dependent organisms such as its special committees and its joint commissions should be held in countries which permit participation of the representatives of every national member of ICSU or of the dependent organisms of



TABLE 38. Answers to questions about attitude towards racial segregation in scientific organizations

Name of organization	Answers to questions					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa	Yes	12 410	Not known <sup>1</sup>	No	No	No
South African Institute of Physics <sup>2</sup>	Yes	227	(a) 2 (b) 0 (c) 1	No	No	No
Medical Association of South Africa	Yes	6 104	Not known <sup>3</sup>	No	No	No
Dental Association of South Africa	Yes	1 080	(a) 0 (b) 0 (c) 8	No	See note 4 below	No
South African Psychological Association <sup>5</sup>	Yes	210	(a) 2 (b) 0 (c) 4	No	No	No <sup>6</sup>
South African Genetic Society	Yes	80	None	No	See note 7 below	No
Royal Society of South Africa	Yes <sup>8</sup>	273 <sup>9</sup>	None	No	No	No
The Institute for the Study of Man in Africa, c/o Medical School, Hospital Street, Johannesburg	Yes	350	(a) 0 (b) 0 (c) 0	No, no members, but speakers recruited from all ethnic groups	—	—

1. Said: 'None of our constituent societies keep statistics about the race of their members.'

2. Said: 'It has been decided that in the interest of professional etiquette and in the interest of the traditional free flow of information between scientists in different countries, the information requested by you should be made available.'

3. Said: 'In accordance with medical principles we do not differentiate or keep records of colour, race, sex or creed.'

4. Said: 'Our policy is not determined by government regulation at present. It is understood, however, that when sufficient members in other racial groups qualify to justify a separate organization for such groups, they will be required, in terms of government policy, to join their own associations.'

5. Said: 'In 1961 a split occurred in the South African Psychological Association on the question of admission of non-Whites. Those who favoured their exclusion seceded and formed the Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa, which admits only Whites to membership.'

6. Said: 'The constitution and policy of this association are in accordance with that of the International Union of Psychological Sciences, of which the South African Psychological Association is a member.'

7. Said: 'Since the question of a prospective non-European member has never arisen, we have formulated no policy in this regard. The university facilities usually used for meetings and congresses would presumably not be made available to us for mixed racial gatherings.'

8. Said: 'There has not yet been a case in which a coloured or African has applied for membership.'

9. Said: '89 fellows and 184 ordinary members.'

ICSU concerned, and allow free and prompt dissemination of information related to such meetings.'

The official policy of racial segregation, if practised by scientific societies, would make it difficult for them to satisfy the conditions, thus preventing them from acting as host organization on their territory for conferences organized under the auspices of ICSU. This would increase the growing isolation of South African science.

## 4 The influence of apartheid on social field reseach

Field work in social sciences in South Africa faces problems arising from the policy of apartheid. In order to carry out research in a 'Bantu' Reserve or in an African area any person who does not belong to the African group entitled to live in these 'homelands' requires a permit which may be withdrawn at any time without any reason being given. There is often very full co-operation from Bantu Affairs Commissioners when doing field work. However, there have been cases where an anthropologist has been refused permission to do field work in a particular area or an investigator has been asked to leave the field for security reasons. A White investigator is not permitted to lodge with Africans in the field. More usually a White sociologist would be required to live in a police station or a recognized mission station. Sociological studies in the native townships, as distinct from the reserves, may be badly hampered by the fact that the White research worker cannot live among the people he is studying. It may be possible to receive permission to live in a caravan, but not in an African hut or a homestead which would be much cheaper and



more convenient. The research worker can get only a permit to go in daily, and to employ an African field officer who is permitted to live in the community studied.

White field workers going among African or Coloured people feel that they are under the surveillance of the police the whole time. They work with the fear that they may forfeit their permits to work in specified areas or, if foreigners, lose their permits to reside in South Africa.

An even more serious obstacle to investigation is the suspicion and hostility exhibited by informants (or possible informants). Even where there is no open hostility there may be a reluctance to talk. Many of the Africans may only know a White investigator as a possible local official or special branch man. Using an African, Indian or Coloured assistant may be little more helpful, as he or she may be seen as a possible spy or 'sell-out'. Moreover, the imprisonment of so many people for political offences and the degree of tension between racial groups in the country make any kind of field work difficult.

Since permits from the Department of Bantu Affairs are necessary if material in the African reserves or other African areas is to be gathered or published, there is no guarantee that the department, having initially permitted field work, will, after all, authorize the use of the material. In addition, the requirements for access to African areas make certain studies, e.g., a study of native law or native custom, difficult to pursue in South Africa.

In view of these conditions, the anthropologist Professor Monica Wilson in an analysis of an African suburb of Cape Town<sup>1</sup> omitted altogether investigation of political organizations and trade unions. Professor Wilson explains the situation as follows:

'We did not investigate political organizations or trade unions. Questions were not asked about them early in the investigation because that would have aroused suspicion, and during the course of the study the two main political organizations, the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress, were banned. Furthermore, two cases occurred in which journalists were imprisoned for refusing to reveal to the police their sources of information on political matters. A very large number of the people of Langa take a lively interest in politics, and readers must make allowance for this fact.'

1. Monica Wilson and Archie Mafeje, *Langa, A Study of Social Groups in an African Township*, Cape Town, 1963, p. 11.

Since some South African social scientists believe that apartheid is a practical solution to the local problems, it is not surprising that their research would be directed to questions arising out of this belief. Such research may not necessarily be useless or evil. An example is the research into the selection or training of rural African labourers for work in 'border industries'.<sup>1</sup> However, it is done with the intention of developing border industries and is thus directed to reinforcing an apartheid social and economic situation. A national talent survey is being presently conducted by the Bureau of Education and Social Research. It is restricted to Whites and this restriction may be regarded as being directly determined by apartheid policy.

There is a general tendency to concentrate on non-controversial issues, e.g., the mass of ethnographical studies of 'tribal' systems in contrast with the relative dearth of studies of the dynamics of social-economic change arising through urbanization and industrialization. One special field of research, for example, which has so far been inadequately explored and for which South Africa presents a unique opportunity in view of the existence side by side of populations of different cultural, dietary and genetic histories, is the effect of these parameters on human growth, illness and health. Similarly, little is known of the psychological effects of malnutrition.

Certain lines of research are made virtually impossible by the particular socio-political environment to be found there, e.g., an investigation into cross-racial sexual relations, or an investigation (especially by a European) of non-European political attitudes.

Given the policy of the South African Government, and the steps it has taken to ensure the implementation of this policy, it may be questioned whether the National Council for Social Research (NCSR), which provides funds for research in the social sciences and which is directly administered by the Ministry of Education, Arts and Science, would hesitate or not to support research projects that might appear ideologically suspect, and whether projects sponsored by universities, which would be less likely to raise fundamental issues of racial policy, would not be given preference. This suspicion is certainly entertained by some social scientists who are either working in South Africa or who have had recent experience of South Africa. By its nature, how-

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1. Border industries are industries being established on White territory near to the 'reserves'—particularly near to the Transkei. In this way the 'reserves' act as a direct reservoir of African labour, which is not subject to prevailing urban rates of pay, and the Africans can theoretically return to the 'reserves' at the end of the day.



ever, it is almost impossible to obtain direct evidence of discrimination of this kind.

An important moral dilemma also faces the social scientist who does not believe in apartheid but whose work into African customs may be used to further government policy.

An official book censorship<sup>1</sup> has also had great impact on social sciences. Books like Dollars's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Richmond's *The Colour Problem*, Kuper's *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, and many of the Unesco series 'The Race Questions in Modern Science' are banned.

## 5 Effects of apartheid on national defence and scientific research

The South African Government's policy of apartheid has led to the United Nations passing the resolutions quoted in the preface of this report as well as arousing the hostility of many Member States. Speaking in the Senate in 1962,<sup>2</sup> the Minister of Defence asserted that military action against South Africa was being secretly planned by some Afro-Asian countries and declared that it would therefore be necessary for South Africa to build up its own forces. Actually, the Defence Budget rose from £21.8 million in 1960-61 to £116.4 million in 1964-65.

This large and rapid increase in defence expenditure has been accompanied by the setting up in 1963 under the CSIR in Pretoria

1. See Part 4.

2. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 8, 12 March 1962, cols., 1836-46.

of the National Institute for Defence Research with sections dealing with Physics, Chemistry and Electronics. In announcing the establishment of the new institute, Professor L. J. le Roux,<sup>1</sup> vice-president of the CSIR, said that it was developing a rocket-propelled ground-to-air missile. He also indicated that a Naval Research Institute would soon be established. About the same time it was announced<sup>2</sup> that the CSIR was recruiting highly qualified scientists to be sent overseas for the necessary training to conduct research into the construction of rockets. On 7 November 1963, Professor le Roux stated that the South African Defence Research Council had set up a specialist group of scientists to study the further development of poison gases like tuban, soman and sarin. He said that 'these poisons are capable of being delivered in vast quantity by aircraft or long-range missile and they can have a destructive effect similar to that of a nuclear bomb of 20 megatons. These gases are ten times more poisonous than any other substance you can name'.<sup>3</sup> He also reported that the new institute was working closely with the Institute for Aviation Medicine of the South African Defence Force and the National Institute for Personnel Research.

Though exact figures are not available as regards that part of scientific research in South Africa which has recently been directed towards defence, it nevertheless remains clear that the effect of the apartheid policy is to divert a certain proportion of the total available resources for scientific research from research geared towards pacific and civilian aims.

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1. *South African Digest*, 31 October 1963.

2. *South African Digest*, 5 September 1963.

3. Reuters, 7 November 1963.



## 6 Effects of apartheid on South African international scientific and technical co-operation

Dislike of apartheid has resulted in the exclusion or resignation of South Africa from the following international organizations: Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (1962);<sup>1</sup>

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 1963;

Council for Science in Africa (1963);

Economic Commission for Africa (1963).

An attempt to expel South Africa from the World Health Organization (WHO) has not succeeded.

South Africa withdrew from Unesco in 1955 (see Preface).

Dr. G. C. Lawrie of the South African Institute of International Affairs commented<sup>2</sup> that although South Africa's technical and scientific achievements in many fields were outstanding the country was, for political reasons, unable to make the international contribution these achievements justified.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs announced<sup>3</sup> that, as a result of various adverse moves made by international organizations, the Onderstepoort Veterinary Research Institute would no longer serve as a world reference centre on behalf of the FAO for certain diseases. South Africa would withdraw from various FAO panels of experts and study groups. No further technical assistance would be provided through FAO. South Africa would, however, extend and develop

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1. The last time a South African delegate attended a meeting of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara was in December 1961, as a result of the attitude of African States towards any co-operation with South Africa as long as apartheid exists. South Africa withdrew from the organization in 1962.

2. *The Republic of South Africa and the External World*, Institute of Race Relations, RR.212/1961.

3. *South African Digest*, 26 December 1963.

collaboration in the scientific and technical fields with individual States on a direct bilateral basis.

However, South Africa's work with the WHO continues. Professor James Gear,<sup>1</sup> a member of several WHO committees, pointed out the contributions South Africa had made towards combating diseases such as malaria, relapsing fever, bilharzia, plague and typhus fever. 'Every advance in medicine in our country has been made with mankind in view and not in consideration of a man's colour or creed.'

The withdrawal of South Africa from the Council for Science in Africa has meant that important contributions on the treatment of animal diseases, research into low-cost housing, road technology, surveying and photogrammetry, the application of precise surveying methods to mining, psychometrics, nutrition and telecommunications are not available to that body.

## 7 Effects of apartheid on the emigration of scientists from and the recruitment of scientists to work in South Africa

The extension of the principle of Separate Development to higher education has serious repercussions in the universities. In 1961 it was reported that 25 members of staff from Cape Town had left, Natal had lost 35, and that at the University of the Witwatersrand eight professorships, nine senior lectureships and nine lectureships were vacant. Since that time losses have continued on a considerable scale. Some of the scientists who have left had played a senior part in the intellectual life of the country.

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1. *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 March 1964.



Government circles have appeared indifferent to the loss of such a large number of academics. In 1965 they refused to give a passport to Professor K. Danziger, head of the Psychology Department at the University of Cape Town, but instead issued him with a one-way exit permit, thus precluding his return to South Africa. Dr. Duminy, referring to this incident said: 'It is grievous for a university to sustain a loss such as this at any time but at a time like the present when highly academically qualified men are not easily come by, it is a setback of a particularly crippling and distressing kind. . . . The reasons for the decision are therefore completely obscure.'<sup>1</sup> Several African students who had been offered scholarships overseas have similarly been issued with one-way exit permits in lieu of passports, thus preventing their return to South Africa. For example, Mr. Reginald Boleu, an African from the University of the North, who, after a brilliant college record, had been offered a scholarship to study nuclear physics at the University of Uppsala, and Mr. G. L. Mongoacla, an ex-lecturer at Stellenbosch and Natal Universities, who had been offered a post-graduate scholarship at Wisconsin University, both left during 1965.<sup>2</sup>

It would be incorrect to attribute all loss of staff from South Africa to the introduction of apartheid in higher education. The salaries in South African universities are low and the facilities for research often less than those offered abroad, so that even in the absence of an apartheid policy a turnover of staff could be expected. But in very many cases the introduction of apartheid seems to have been partly or wholly to blame. The losses occurred mainly from the English-medium universities.

The introduction of apartheid has also had the effect of restricting the recruitment of staff, particularly from the United Kingdom. Dr. Duminy, the principal of Cape Town University, stated recently that difficulty had been experienced in recent years in attracting staff members from abroad due to the country's academic isolation, the inadequacy of its research facilities, inferior salary scales and the prevailing political climate.

Reports of the social and political climate in South Africa which is the result of the apartheid policy can hardly be considered to be encouraging for the prospective academic immigrant. More direct opinion about the official racial policies being applied in South African

1. Cape Town, 10 December 1965.

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit.

universities was expressed by 500 staff members of British universities (of 2,000 approached) who signed a declaration in November 1965 with a pledge not to apply for or to accept academic posts in South African universities which practise racial discrimination. This declaration caused some consternation and discouragement in liberal academic circles in South Africa. It was pointed out that the presence in South Africa 'of liberal minds from Britain or from any part of Western Europe is vital, or at least helpful to the survival of liberal ideas in this limbo of apartheid'.<sup>1</sup>

The effect would be particularly serious in the social sciences.

Although a number of leading university personnel have left South Africa, over-all there is still a large excess of immigrants over emigrants, including professionally qualified people. For example, in 1963 the *Bulletin of Statistics* gave for the number of professionally qualified people who immigrated, 2,938. Many of the immigrants appear to have been Europeans who had previously lived in other African territories. During the same year, 901 left South Africa.

It is not only permanent university staff who are now coming to South Africa in smaller numbers. Overseas funds for research fellowships have diminished and there are fewer visits of overseas colleagues. The withdrawal of South Africa from the British Commonwealth as a result of her racial policies has meant that her students no longer qualify for many scholarships and fellowships formerly available (Nuffield Travelling Fellowships, Commonwealth Fellowships, scholarships of the British Council of Universities interchange scheme, or bursaries awarded for post-graduate study by the Royal Society).

The Secretary of the Royal Society of South Africa pointed out recently:

'Within my own very limited experience the main effect of apartheid on scientific institutions has been a decrease in the numbers of overseas visitors who want to come and work here (very noticeable since 1960). This decreased contact means that it is more difficult to place advanced students in suitable overseas institutions, though, as yet, no real hardship in this direction has been felt.'

We live in an age of science and technology. If it is not to be also an age of the technocrat divorced from the rest of the population, there must be access to scientific knowledge for all people.

1. Mrs. Winifred M. Roux, wife of the banned Professor Edward Roux, in *Guardian*, 31 December 1965.



Any discussion on the effect of apartheid on science, therefore, must be concerned not only with the training of a scientific elite—although this is important in any industrialized society—but also with the ways used to ensure that the non-elite understands, to some extent, the type of development which is going on around him. This type of information is given both at school level and by the mass media. Here the effect of apartheid on science is clear.

With restricted science facilities in non-White schools (see Part I, Chapter 5) restricted mass media (see Part IV) as well as the restrictions placed on non-White participation in scientific creation, the non-White population is almost completely deprived from taking part in the scientific developments of today's world.

# III. Culture

## *Article 13(1)*

'Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

## *Article 16(1)*

'Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. . . .

## *Article 27(1)*

'Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts. . . .

'Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.'

## The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

'That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern.'

## Preamble to the Constitution of Unesco

'In their rich variety and diversity, and in the reciprocal influences they exert on one another, all cultures form part of the common heritage belonging to all mankind.'

Article 1(3), Unesco General Conference,  
fourteenth session: Principles of International  
Cultural Co-operation



# 1 Definition of scope



To examine all the effects of apartheid on the social and cultural scene would be practically impossible. Sheila Van der Horst emphasizes that:

'The policy of apartheid and its application are fundamental to an understanding of race relations in South Africa because it affects not only the politically conscious but permeates the whole country and governs the daily lives of all citizens. . . . It determines where members of each racial group are born, in what schools and manner they are educated, within what group they may marry, where they live, die and are buried. It determines the circumstances in which members of different racial groups meet. It is much more than an over-all policy influencing economic and social conditions. Notices reserving separate lavatories and waiting rooms, separate entrances to stations, post offices, separate buses and railway coaches are relatively new, they affront many, and particularly the more westernized, non-Whites.

'Above all, it restricts and denies economic opportunities not only to the better obs, but, by restricting townward movement, to any jobs at all.'<sup>1</sup>

The field covered in this chapter has therefore been deliberately restricted. An attempt will be made to place apartheid in its social setting, and then certain aspects of culture will be specifically examined. These aspects have been chosen because of their implications not only to South African life, but because, in many cases, they sparked off far-reaching debates in other parts of the world. The religious

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1. Sheila T. Van der Horst, 'The Effects of Industrialization on Race Relations in South Africa' in: Guy Hunter (ed.), *Industrialization and Race Relations: a Symposium*, Institute of Race Relations (Great Britain), London, Oxford University Press, 1965.

situation in South Africa intensified the world-wide Christian debate on the responsibility of the Church in matters of race relations. The decision of overseas playwrights not to have their plays performed under conditions of segregation in the Republic of South Africa raised questions as to the personal responsibility of dramatists towards the performance of their works.

Apartheid as it affects libraries raises the question of the possibility of equal but separate facilities between population groups in the same State.

Underlying all these questions is another; is it possible or desirable for cultures to remain self-contained units, or is the borrowing between cultures fundamental to the growth of any particular culture?

## 2 The peoples of South Africa

### *Africans*

The African traditional tribal system in South Africa was partly (although not completely) destroyed by the military defeat of the Africans in the series of wars waged against conquest, by the adoption by some Africans of Christianity, as well as by industrialization which demanded the acceptance of both a cash economy and urban living. In the reserves—the 'Bantu Homelands'—Africans continued to maintain as much of the old ways as was possible. But the reserves are in no way a land apart. The chiefs are ultimately responsible to the South African parliament, land ownership in the reserves is no longer only owned by the paramount chief as trustee for the whole tribe. Now, while communal tenure is still the main type of land



tenure, a considerable percentage of the land owned remains vested in the State through the South African Native Trust.<sup>1</sup> Overcrowding and poverty of the reserves continues to influence the trek of Africans to White farms and urban districts.

The Tomlinson report stated that the urbanization of the South African population is a consequence of economic development. . . the rural areas, including the African areas, do not offer sufficient opportunities for work or opportunities which are sufficiently remunerative.<sup>2</sup> While in 1904 fewer than one-quarter of the total population of South Africa lived in the urban areas, in 1951 the proportion had risen to 42.6 per cent. The Africans contributed 1,954,000 to this increase, compared with 1,469,000 Whites.<sup>3</sup> In 1951, 78.4 per cent of all Whites lived in towns, 77.5 per cent of all Asians, 64.4 per cent of all Coloureds and 27.1 per cent of all Africans.

At present approximately 32 per cent of Africans live in towns or villages, providing, in 1962, about 54 per cent (800,000) of the total population engaged in manufacturing and construction and about 88.5 per cent (616,000) of those engaged in mining.<sup>4</sup>

In the towns, Africans—as well as Whites—have had to adjust to modern urban living. This adjustment has not always reached the same degree. While some Africans have almost completely accepted Western standards of living, some have attempted to retain African traditions in an urban milieu.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to estimate how far apartheid has hindered the urbanization of the African. That it has affected it, there can be little doubt. The laws governing the movement of Africans qualify the number of Africans who can enter town, the Urban Areas Act segregates Africans in townships at the edge of the town, as well as their access to places of public entertainment. Inter-marriage is prohibited by law,<sup>6</sup> and curfew regulations mean that no African can be in the White sector of the town between 11 p.m. and

1. See the Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913, the Native Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936 and the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950.

2. *Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa*, p. 27 (The Tomlinson Report).

3. *ibid.*

4. Sheila T. Van der Horst, *op. cit.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 111. She suggests that the conservative, tradition-based Africans predominate in the mines where the African labour force, except for clerical grades, is drawn almost entirely from migrant labour from the rural areas of the Republic, and from nearby African countries: Portuguese East Africa, Basutoland, etc., while she doubts that there is a large proportion of traditionalists in the African townships of Witwatersrand.

6. The Immorality Act of 1927.

5 a.m. without a pass, while Whites may not visit a 'location'<sup>1</sup> without a special permit.<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that non-Whites are never seen in White areas. They go there to work, in the industries or as domestic servants, or to shop.<sup>3</sup> Culture contacts with Whites are reduced to a minimum; 'One can think of two linked unequal towns, the White town owning and controlling the Black one, which it has called into being largely for its own convenience. Except for the narrowly limited relations of employment and administration—which are intrinsically unequal, and foster a sense of opposed rather than common interests—each half lives mainly in and for itself'.<sup>4</sup> Even the minimal culture contact that exists is being reduced by recent government measures (see Part III, Chapters 4 and 7).

It is not only in the towns that the traditional African life has changed. The Tomlinson report noted the decreasing use of *lobolo*<sup>5</sup> even in country districts, the increase of monogamous marriages, the decrease of marriage within a preferential marriage system, and the increasing marriage outside ethnical limits.<sup>6</sup>

The policy of the Government is to reinforce tribal traditions, turning an all-over South African nationalism into tribal nationalism. In the urban 'locations' the headman system was introduced. These headmen are voted for only by householders (registered tenants of municipal houses or registered occupiers of sites in the shack area), which means that the migrants have no possibility of voting. The headman was given limited judicial functions—he could hear petty cases—and was expected to be an intermediary between the location and the White administration. Mayer found that there was a distrust of headmen as being on the wrong side.<sup>7</sup>

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 had for its purpose the direction of African labour and the creation of a migratory labour force, temporarily resident in urban centres, but without any permanent rights of residence, since Africans are theoretically citizens only

1. African townships.

2. P. Mayer, *Xhosa in Town, Townsmen or Tribesmen*, published on behalf of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 44.

3. Stores are not segregated.

4. P. Mayer, *Xhosa in Town*, op. cit., p. 43.

5. Bride price.

6. *The Tomlinson Report*, op. cit., p. 15.

7. 'They have to repeat to the officers of the administration everything that we say to them. This shows that they are not for the people but for the White men! We take it that they are White puppets!'—P. Mayer, *Xhosa in Town*, op. cit., p. 54.



of the reserves. This Act has important effects on the African family.

Mr. Greyling, a Nationalist Party member of the House of Assembly explained at the reading of the Bill:

'... there is no such thing as 'the rights of a Bantu' in the White area. The only rights he has are those which he acquires by performing certain duties. Those duties which he performs give him the right of sojourn here. The officials in these labour bureaux, in considering whether they are going to allow a Bantu to remain here, will have to give priority to the consideration as to whether that Bantu has carried out his duties as a worker, and not whether he has a supposed right which has been invented for him by members of the United Party.'<sup>1</sup>

Before the passage of this Bill an African could qualify to remain in an urban area if he had been born there and had resided there ever since, or had been in continuous employment for fifteen years, or had worked there continuously for the same employer for ten years. After 1964 the presence of an African in a White district for more than 72 hours was severely restricted. While Africans could theoretically qualify to remain in urban districts, nevertheless, any African could be endorsed out (a) if the Minister had decided that the number of Africans in the area concerned exceeds its reasonable labour requirements, (b) if the African concerned comes from an area from which the Minister has decided no more labour is to be recruited to the White area concerned, (c) if the African is deemed to be 'idle' or 'undesirable', (d) if it is deemed not to be in the interests either of the employer or the employed, or in the public interest, that the contract of service shall continue.

Wives and other dependents of Africans working in the White areas may not live with their husbands or fathers unless they have resided continuously in the same area previously. Visits without permission between husbands and wives residing in separate districts are limited to 72 hours.

In the House of Assembly, 18 March 1964, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration<sup>2</sup> explained the situation:

'An unmarried Bantu male qualifies to be in an urban area on the ground that he was born here or that he has been employed here for

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 4 March 1964, col. 2463.

2. *Ibid.*, 9 March 1964, cols. 3192-4.

ten years by one employer or for fifteen years by different employers, and wants to marry a woman outside that urban area. The woman can only enter if she is given leave to do so. Housing is one of the factors which must be taken into account and it must be clearly understood that that means housing only in the Bantu residential areas and not housing in the backyard of the employer where that woman's husband is already employed and living in the premises. It applies only to housing in the urban Bantu residential areas and subject naturally to the regulations of that particular authority.'

A second example was the following:

'A Bantu woman who qualifies to be in an urban area wishes to marry a man employed there but not yet qualified (he is not born there, has not been employed for ten years by one employer or for fifteen years by different employers). The couple may marry. If the man ceases to work in the area, he has no longer a right to remain there. If that Bantu male cannot obtain employment he will have to go, but that is something which the Bantu woman knew from the first day; the Bantu male himself knew it; they entered into this union with their eyes open. They both knew that if he lost his employment then the last vestige of justification for his presence here would disappear. If he has to leave therefore she will have to accompany him. But there is still the possibility that the bureau may find a new job here for him. If he goes to the bureau and proves *bona fide* that he lost his employment, there is the possibility that he may get a new job here and in that case they can remain here.'

In her study of the African township Langa, the South African sociologist Monica Wilson gives a picture of the situation of the African urban population.<sup>1</sup> Langa, a suburb of Cape Town, was built in the 1920's as a substitute for another area set aside for African occupation. It was established as a 'respectable' township. The headquarters of the administration and most of the churches and a high school were built there. Families were led to believe that they might settle permanently. For the first twenty-five years married men and their wives made up a third to a quarter of the population. However, since 1954, the Government has refused to allow building of further houses for families in Langa, but additional single quarters have been built.

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1. Monica Wilson and Archie Mafeje, *Langa, A Study of Social Groups in an African Township*, Cape Town, 1963.



A new township for Africans has been established further out from Cape Town. In Langa the proportion of men to women has risen and was in 1965 over 8:1, the population breakdown being as follows: no Whites, 18,847 African males, 2,175 African females, 4,314 African children (under 16); total (December 1965), 25,336.

In January 1966, of the 27,420 Africans living in Langa, 18,925 lived in bachelor quarters.<sup>1</sup>

Monica Wilson makes the following general observations:

'There has been much greater security of life and property in Langa than in the townships of Johannesburg, but with growing restrictions on entry, and the increase in the disproportion between men and women, disorder has increased. Women are less safe, going about alone, than formerly, and the tension between people and police is growing. In 1956 an African minister said that Langa was rapidly losing its peaceful atmosphere. "This is due to the influx of bachelors from Windermere and similar slums. These men are now quartered in the flats and barracks and zones so that it is now unsafe to go beyond the married quarters after dark. Several assaults have been reported recently." Nowadays (1961), the police go to the zones or barracks only in a large group and there must be White police, who are armed, among them.'

Two cases may be taken as examples:<sup>2</sup>

'Mr. Joseph Dyantyi, a resident of Hermanus since 1942, was married and has six children between the ages of 7 and 16 years. Some time after his wife died he wished to re-marry, to a woman working in Cape Town, but they were refused permission to set up house together and he was ordered to move into bachelor accommodation and to send his children to the Transkei—where he had no land rights or close relatives to care for the children....

'Mrs. Rebecca Motale, born in Cape Town and with three children, lost her right to remain there with her parents when she married a Stellenbosch man, and was refused permission to join him. She was convicted for being in Cape Town unlawfully. The case was, unsuccessfully, taken on appeal and meanwhile, according to her counsel, she disappeared to live in the bush. The counsel pointed out that she

1. *Cape Times*, 20 June 1966, quoted in *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1966*, op. cit., p. 167.

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 159-60.

would have remained within the law had she elected to live in sin, and the judge is reported to have stated that she was now existing in "a legally created limbo".'

In a Memorandum on the Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control, the Black Sash said in part '... the African must be a collector of documents from the day of his birth to the day of his death. ... For thousands of Africans these laws result in broken families, in unemployment, in poverty and malnutrition, insecurity and instability and in a state of hopelessness. ... Millions of rands are spent in administering these laws, and millions of man-hours are wasted in the attempt to enforce unenforceable laws. The real cost must be counted in terms of human sorrow, bitterness, suffering and tragedy on a vast scale'.<sup>1</sup>

The urban areas have been a meeting ground for members of various tribal groups and urbanized Africans have been, in the main, less conservative than those who live on the reserves. But even in these 'Bantu Homelands' the Government's policy of 'separate development' poses important problems. It is based on the assumption that a government-backed chief, salaried by the Government and easily dismissed by the Government, will necessarily ensure that government policy is applied, and that the system of 'chiefs' will guarantee traditionalism, separate development and ensure White superiority.<sup>2</sup> There are certain trends to support this idea. The reaction in some African quarters to White rule has been to emphasize the traditional aspects (including chieftdom) of African life as opposed to the culture of the Whites, and to withdraw from a White world which rejects the African into African traditional society. But there are also other trends in the system which may, in the long run, prove to be more important. Even under the system of salaried government-appointed chiefs, a chief may well find that, in putting into force unpopular government decrees, he forfeits the trust of his own people. On the other hand, the Government may find a popular chief with a strong following difficult to dislodge. Neither are 'chiefs' a guarantee of

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1. Quoted in: *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1966*, op. cit., p. 168-9.

2. 'However, as the Bantu are introduced into non-Bantu areas and become more and more detribalized and Westernized, the European will be confronted with greater problems in regard to the maintenance of his position of authority.'—*The Tomlinson Report*, op. cit., p. 17.



traditionalism, nor is the system a guarantee against a more comprehensive African nationalism.<sup>1</sup>

### *White South Africans*

'At an early date, the European, so far removed from his maternal culture, constructed a defensive wall around his intimate life, and from that time to this he had tried to ensure his own survival in these alien and unknown surroundings.'<sup>2</sup>

The White population is not an integrated group. Afrikaners are mainly of Dutch ancestry with some Huguenot stock. English-speaking South Africans are mainly of British origin. There has been a history of conflict between these two groups, erupting in the Great Trek,<sup>3</sup> and more recently in the Boer War (the British appellation) or the Die Engelse Oorlog (The English War, the Afrikaans term).

In 1904, half the White population lived in rural areas; by 1960 84 per cent of the White population was classified as urban.<sup>4</sup> The most important pull of Whites to the towns was caused, as in the case of the Africans, by the industries, particularly mining, which offered more lucrative conditions than agriculture, as well as by the increase of commercial farming which made it more economic to employ African labour-tenants than Whites. The Mining industry was mainly financed by overseas British capital, and the need for skilled labour was mainly met by immigration of overseas miners from Britain, and was supplemented by local South African Whites. Unskilled labour was provided by Africans both from within South Africa and from neighbouring territories.

1. In 1963, of the three most prominent chiefs in the Transkei, Chief Matanzima, who supports the Government's apartheid policy, was reported in the press as having said that the 'Britishers' knew that the White man had no claim to the land between the Fish River and Zululand.

Paramount Chief Victor Poto, also of the Transkei, opposed the system whereby chiefs would automatically become members of the Legislative Assembly and wished all members of the Transkei Assembly to be elected on a democratic basis. Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo was quoted as saying that (we) 'seek freedom from laws which separate us from our fellow South Africans. We seek a State in which the colour of a man's skin plays no part in his civic rights. . . in which White and Black can live and work together in mutual respect'. See *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1963, op. cit., p. 90 and 91.

2. *The Tomlinson Report*, op. cit., p. 116.

3. Something like 10,000 men, women and children (mainly Afrikaners) trekked northwards from Cape Colony during the decade 1836 to 1846 as a protest against British rule, the suppression of their language and institutions, and the liberation of the slaves (see Leo Marquand, *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa*, London, Cape Town, New York, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 10). However, the Voortrekkers only represented a small fraction of the Afrikaner people, a large number stayed behind—T. R. H. Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond, 1880-1911*, Cape Town, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 1.

4. Sheila Van der Horst, *The Effects of Industrialisation on Race Relations in South Africa*, op. cit., p. 108 and 109.

The poor Whites, coming from rural districts were, like the non-Whites, unskilled. Some of them from the more remote areas were unaccustomed to cash wages and illiterate. They were therefore unable to compete with the skilled White labour and were forced to accept unskilled work, which they considered 'Kaffir' work.<sup>1</sup> A high percentage of these unskilled White workers coming in from the rural countryside were Afrikaners, and competition with Africans on the labour market intensified their desire to maintain their traditional social distance from the Africans, whom they now met, not within the semi-feudal relationship of the farms, but in urban industrialized conditions.

The Natives' Land Act of 1913 had been the reaction of Whites to the land problem. It guaranteed White supremacy in land ownership. Apartheid is partly the reaction of Whites to the problems of urbanization and industrialization. 'The policy of apartheid . . . is a direct reaction to the new conditions arising from industrialization. It was industrialization, the growth of towns associated with it and the movement of Africans to meet the labour needs of the expanding towns and industries, which led to the enunciation of this policy as a political doctrine and to the attempt to impose separation between White and Black in all spheres.'<sup>2</sup>

There is one aspect of Afrikaner society which needs further explanation: the stress placed on the preservation of the Afrikaner's cultural heritage. The British had dominated not only the economic scene but the cultural and political situation. By 1870 the use of Dutch in secondary schools had practically disappeared. In the Cape, English had become the medium for church services even in the Groote Kerk. English had been substituted for Dutch in the legislative councils, in the civil service and the courts. Moreover the Afrikaner as early as 1880 saw the possibility of an extension of the franchise to include non-Whites as working in the interests of British influence

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1. 'Kaffir'—derogatory term for African.

2. Sheila T. Van der Horst, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

The Natives' Land Act No. 27 of 1913 was the first law embodying the principle of territorial segregation and segregation between Africans and Whites. It listed a number of 'Native Areas' and prohibited Whites, without permission from the Governor-General, from acquiring land in these areas. It also prohibited Africans without consent from the Governor-General from acquiring land or interest in land outside the scheduled 'Native Areas'. By the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936, additional land was 'released' to Africans, and set up the South African Trust which could acquire land in African areas.



since the Coloureds and the Africans who could vote had voted against Boers candidates in elections. In 1881 the newspaper the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* stated: 'We have continually expressed our conviction that if the Afrikaner Bond is to be well beaten it will have to be done by the assistance of the Black vote.'<sup>1</sup> The non-White vote therefore was suspected as being the political key for the maintenance of British influence in a country where the Afrikaners outnumbered the British two to one.

The problems of industrialization on the one hand, and the determination of the Afrikaner to obtain political dominance, became a struggle both against the British and against the Africans. The cultural nationalism of Afrikaner society was fed by both. Apparent in 1868, it was to become a real political force by the present day.

And yet it needs to be emphasized that the Afrikaner nationalists were sometimes also liberals, according to the definition given to that term in their age. Among them was Hofmeeyer who had described as an Afrikaner 'everyone who, having settled in this country, wants to stay here to help to promote our common interests, and associate with the inhabitants as members of one family. That is surely wide enough; it is neither narrow nor exclusive'.<sup>2</sup>

Within the White group, the Afrikaner society is at first glance relatively closely knit. Power is shared by the Church, the Broederbond, the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Societies and the intellectuals, and politically expressed by the National Party.

The Broederbond, founded in 1918, aims at the 'attainment of a healthy and progressive unanimity amongst Afrikaners who strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner people'. Their activities include the study of the attitudes of Whites towards non-Whites, and the study of 'practical action to propagate good relations between the Whites and the non-Whites'.

The Bond<sup>3</sup> is an organization of consultative groups spread over the country with a limited membership, selected to ensure that all sectors of activities are represented. Membership is restricted to Afrikaans-speaking White males over the age of 25 years who are

1. Quoted in T. R. H. Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond, 1880-1911*, op. cit., p. 120.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

3. This should not be confused with the Afrikaner Bond, the political party which was a forerunner of the National Party.

professing members of one of the three Afrikaner churches. The new candidate is reminded at his initiation that 'The members of the Afrikaner-Broederbond are mission-conscious Afrikaners who desire to represent and serve the best that is in one nation'; the names of members and all the proceedings of the Bond are strictly confidential.<sup>1</sup>

In 1964 a commission of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk declared that the Broederbond believed that the Afrikaner people were a race chosen by God, that the Broederbond strove to arouse national consciousness in the Afrikaner and to promote their interests by ensuring that Afrikaners were given preference in the economic, public and professional life of the country.<sup>2</sup>

While the Broederbond is an elite originating from many spheres South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), represents Afrikaner intellectual thinking. Founded in 1948, it is a body for the study of race relations in line with the principles of the programme of the Broederbond. Its aim is to encourage and promote separate development of the White and non-White communities in South Africa and to safeguard the interests of both.<sup>3</sup> It has developed the most complete and radical doctrine of 'total apartheid'. For SABRA it would be immoral to accept Africans as permanent residents in White areas but refuse them political and social rights. Therefore a national home for the Africans must be found; thus SABRA has suggested that the Native Reserves should be joined with Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana—the African share of the total area would be 45 per cent. Moreover the division of land between African and European should be treated as a 'Southern African' problem.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the SABRA intellectuals have criticized heavily the official policy, either because of specific measures taken against the non-White population, or because of what they consider to be the whittling away of apartheid in favour of a policy of convenience which permits the recruitment of Africans into White South Africa because their labour is needed.

1. South African Government, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Secret Organizations*, R.P. No. 20/1965. This commission was set up by the Government to inquire into the Bond and other secret organizations and found the Bond not guilty of any conduct mentioned in the committee's terms of reference. The membership of the Bond was 6,768 on 30 November 1964 (*ibid.*).

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1964, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

3. World of Learning, 1965-66, *cf. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 79 ff; ... 1964, p. 11 and 19.

4. 'Sabra: Integration or Separate Development', here quoted from Gwendolen M. Carter, *The Politics of Inequality in South Africa since 1948*, London, Thames and Hudson, p. 268.



Afrikaner intellectuals do not all support official policy, and among those who do there are some who consider apartheid as being compatible with a just sharing of South Africa's wealth between the various ethnic groups. Afrikaners from the Southern provinces of South Africa do not necessarily agree with the more conservative northern Afrikaner. In spite of these contradictions, Afrikaners are united by a strong emotional bond.

The English-speaking South Africans are a less coherent group than the Afrikaners. Like the Afrikaners their roots are in South Africa, but they are more divided politically—some supporting the National Party, some the United Party, some the Progressive Party and others the Liberal Party. They control the industrial capital of the country to a larger extent than the Afrikaner, and are more fully urbanized. Liberal and radical movements, which do exist within the Afrikaner society, exist to a more pronounced extent among English-speaking South Africans, but there are also conservative elements which are close to the orthodox Afrikaner thought on questions of race and support the Government's policy of apartheid.<sup>1</sup> The liberal strand in English-speaking South Africans is illustrated by the Black Sash—originally an organization for women voters—which opened in 1963 its membership to all women in South Africa, regardless of race. It has issued a statement that 'a White electorate bears the guilt for the discriminatory laws passed in their name'.<sup>2</sup> It has demonstrated repeatedly against aspects of the Government's policy and in 1962 it organized vigils of protest against the Sabotage Bills.<sup>3</sup> With the Institute of Race Relations it runs an advice office at Athlone, Cape Town, staffed by voluntary workers, and intends to help Africans seeking permits to stay or to enter into employment or those who find themselves endorsed out.<sup>4</sup>

### *Coloureds*

The Coloureds make up a small portion of the total South African population, numbering in 1965 about 1,742,000. The group has been formed by a mixture of White, African (mainly Hottentot) and Asian

1. It was estimated that about one-sixth of the Nationalist Party's members in Natal were in 1965 English speaking. See *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 3.

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963*, op. cit., p. 10.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

4. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 159.

(mainly Malay) elements. Although they are part of the non-White group, their relationship with the Whites has been almost completely confined to the towns and never went as far in the subservience and dependence which is part of the African life in the farms.<sup>1</sup>

In 1960, 68 per cent of the Coloureds lived in urban districts, compared with 84 per cent of the Whites and 32 per cent of the Africans.<sup>2</sup> They occupied an intermediate position between Europeans and Africans. Trade unions which had Coloured and White or Asian and White membership were recognized for the purpose of collective bargaining, unlike African trade unions. The Coloureds supplied some of the skilled artisan labour and held many of the clerical jobs, and they were not barred from intermarriage with Whites until the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949. Their culture was hardly distinctive from the Whites and was close to the Afrikaner. The highest percentage of Coloureds belonging to a Christian religion belong to the Dutch Reformed Church. Most of them spoke Afrikaans, some had 'passed' into the White group, they had no homelands to which they could retire,<sup>3</sup> and no traditional systems to which they could withdraw. Psychologically, the present government policy of more rigid separation hit the Coloured particularly. 'With all the love of which I am capable as a Christian', wrote Adam Small, the Coloured writer, 'and of which my fellow Afrikaners should be capable (yes, I say my fellow Afrikaners) I must permit myself to repeat . . . that the brown people are not merely concerned about bread and butter affairs, and that note must be taken, because Christ demands it of us, of the diabolical humiliations of this spirit which these people of ours have to endure.'<sup>4</sup>

The dissatisfaction about the situation of the Coloureds, even in Afrikaner circles, is characterized by the editorial reply in *Die Burger*: 'No, Mr. Small, dry your tears, let me and my children weep for we shall have to pluck the bitter fruit of these things . . . it is we who supply the fuel that stokes the cauldron of the Coloured peoples' aspirations and then our Government comes along and sits on the lid.'<sup>5</sup>

The present policy of the Government as far as the territorial separation of Coloureds from Whites is concerned, is to promote and

1. Sheila Van der Horst, *Industrialization and Race Relations in South Africa*, op. cit., p. 125.

2. Ibid., p. 209.

3. There are Coloured reservations and mission stations, scattered areas in the Northern and Western Cape, but the population there is only 31,106.

4. *Die Burger*, 11 July 1961.

5. Ibid., 12 July 1961.



re-plan where necessary, Coloured reserves, to set up Coloured villages in White farming areas in an endeavour to promote the use of Coloured rather than of African labour in the farms of the Western Cape,<sup>1</sup> and to move Coloureds from the centre of urban districts to the outskirts. Eventually, the Coloureds are to form 'another nation' within South Africa, separate from the Whites, the Asians and the Africans, the latter themselves divided into tribal groups.

### 3 Religion

Seventy-two per cent of all South Africans and 94 per cent of all White South Africans are Christians. While other religions will be mentioned in this section, the role which the Christian Church plays under the system of apartheid will be specifically examined.<sup>2</sup>

The doctrinal approach of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa to race relations was that the Dutch Reformed Church 'could not associate itself unreservedly with the general cry for equality and unity in the world today. . . . It is mostly a surrogate unity and brotherhood, that men seek to realize without Christ in a world disrupted by sin . . . . The unity of man already exists in Christ, and is a supernatural organic unity. . . . One of the factors causing the imperfect realization of the existing unity in Christ is racial contrasts and racial tensions, in South Africa as in the rest of the world'.<sup>3</sup>

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963*, op. cit., p. 152 and 153.

2. See Lesley Cawood, *The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 6-7.

3. Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, *Statement on Race Relations*, No. 1, November 1960, Transvaal, Natal, Johannesburg, Information Bureau of the Dutch Reformed Church, p. 7-8.

In April 1950 a conference of Dutch Reformed Churches was held at Bloemfontein. The conference was an attempt to define the Church's policy towards the African. The basic principle being discussed was apartheid which was defined as a way which seeks to lead each section of the people in the clearest and quickest way to its own destination under the gracious providence of God.<sup>1</sup> The only way in which the permanent subordination of one group to another could be avoided was by total separation; the native reserves were to be converted into true 'Bantu homelands' with full opportunity for development and self-government and the replacing of the African in the European industrial system.<sup>2</sup>

After the riots at Sharpeville and Langa in March 1960, nine leading ministers of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk issued a statement, which, after protesting at the 'continuous besmirching of our country, people and Church by untrue and slanted information', and declaring that the condemnations of South Africa 'do not always spring from Christian responsibility but show signs of social humanism and of the hysterical efforts of the West to overbid the East for the favour of the non-Whites of Africa for the sake of the ideological slogan of self-determination', went on to say:

'The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk has made it clear by its policy and by synod statements in the past that it can approve of independent, distinctive development, provided that it is carried out in a just and honourable way, without impairing or offending human dignity. The Church has also accepted that this policy, especially in its initial stages, would necessarily cause a certain amount of disruption and personal hardship, for example, in connection with the clearing of slums. The whole pass system must be seen in this light.'<sup>3</sup>

The nine ministers issuing this statement then approved of the principles of the policy of apartheid, but they also called for an improvement of the wage structure for Africans, that non-Whites be treated

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1. Here quoted from Dr. W. A. Visser 'T Hooft, *Visit to the S.A. Churches: A Report to the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches on a Visit to the S.A. Churches in April and May 1952*, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Statement on the Riots in South Africa. Signed by the Revs. Dr. A. J. van der Merve, P. S. Z. Coetzee, A. M. Meiring, C. B. Brink, A. G. E. van Velden, Dr. J. D. Vorster, W. A. Landman, Dr. F. E. O'B Geldenhuys and Z. B. Loots. In: Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, *Statement on Race Relations*, No. 1, November 1960, Transvaal, Natal, Johannesburg, Information Bureau of the Dutch Reformed Church, 1960, p. 12-14.



by Whites in a more dignified manner so as not to reap a harvest of hate and that 'responsible and law-abiding' non-Whites should not be 'misled by the false promises of agitators who are not concerned about the utmost good of the non-Whites...'.<sup>1</sup>

In December 1960, as a result of an initiative on the part of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town—who had publicly repudiated compulsory segregation—the World Council of Churches sent a six-man delegation to consult with representatives of its eight member Churches<sup>2</sup> at the Cottlesloe residence of the University of the Witwatersrand. Five of the Churches sent interracial delegations.<sup>3</sup> A statement reflecting the consensus of opinion was drawn up, each paragraph was voted on separately and an 80 per cent vote in favour was required before a paragraph was accepted—thus ensuring that the paragraph in question was passed by some members of each language and racial group.<sup>4</sup>

The report, known as the Cottlesloe Consultation Report, stated that while being united in rejecting all unjust discrimination, widely divergent views were held on the basic issues of apartheid. Nevertheless it was possible to make certain affirmations concerning human needs and justice as they affected the races of South Africa: no one who believed in Jesus Christ should be excluded from any church on the grounds of colour or race; adequate facilities should be provided for non-White people to worship in urban areas as well as in segregated townships, there should be more effective consultation between the government and the leaders accepted by the non-White people, there were no scriptural grounds for the prohibition of mixed marriages, although certain legal, social and cultural factors might make such marriages inadvisable. It was pointed out that migrant labour had a disintegrating effect on African family life, that the vast majority of non-White people received wages which were below the generally accepted minimum standard for healthy living, that the job reservation system should give way to a more equitable method of employment, that the right to own land where one was domiciled and the right to

1. Ibid.

2. Church of the Province of South Africa, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk of the Transvaal, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Union, the Bantu Presbyterian Church, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk of the Cape, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk of Africa.

3. L. Cawood, *op. cit.*, p. 131-2.

4. Ibid.

participate in the government of the country was part of the dignity of all adult men.<sup>1</sup>

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk of the Transvaal and the Cape issued simultaneously another statement which said that a policy of differentiation could be defended from the Christian point of view and provided the only realistic solution to the problems of race relations. The Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk of Africa next day issued a press statement, in which they dissociated themselves from the resolutions passed and reaffirmed their faith in racial separation in the belief that the ideals of Christianity would best be served in that way.<sup>2</sup>

Opposition to the Cottesloe report continued to grow. During March 1961, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk synod met and decided by 487 votes to 13 to withdraw from membership of the World Council of Churches which it considered was hindering its work among non-Whites.<sup>3</sup>

The Transvaal synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, meeting in April 1961, also decided to withdraw from membership of the World Council of Churches, since the Cottesloe resolutions were at variance with the policy of the Church and were embarrassing to the government. In October the Cape Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk synod decided by a large majority to reject the Cottesloe report as 'undermining the policy of separate development', the synod also decided to leave the World Council of Churches, but to continue to correspond with it.<sup>4</sup>

Individual members of the Dutch Reformed Churches continued to question South African racial attitudes. In November 1960, eleven leading theologians of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk and the Gereformeerde Kerk published a book, *Vertraagde Aksie*, calling for a new outlook on South African racial attitudes. This resulted in the heresy trial of Professor Geyser, one of the authors of the book, before the Synodical Commission of the Hervormde Kerk in December 1961; he was found guilty on one of three charges of heresy. He decided to contest the findings in the court of law, but an agreement was reached outside of the court (in 1963) and he was reinstated as a minister of the Church.<sup>5</sup>

1. Ibid., p. 132-3.

2. Ibid., p. 133.

3. Ibid., p. 134.

4. Ibid., p. 134-5.

5. Ibid., p. 135-6.



In August 1963, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa was established, it was interracial and interdenominational. The director of the institute was the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naudé who had been elected moderator of the Southern Transvaal synod of the Nederduitse Kerk, had defended the Cottesloe resolutions and was editor of an inter-Church monthly magazine *Pro Veritate*.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Institute came under attack from certain Dutch Reformed quarters. Professor Verhoef of Stellenbosch, for example, felt that members of the Christian Institute had made an error in judgement: the institute gave the impression that it understood the problems and the aspirations of the Africans better than the 'Boorekerk'.<sup>2</sup>

That apartheid is compatible with Christianity has been denied by many denominations in South Africa. The Methodist Conference in 1947 and 1948 stated clearly that every human being is entitled to fundamental human rights. In 1952 the conference rejected the policy of apartheid as being impracticable, contrary to the interests of all sections of the South African community and inconsistent with the highest Christian principles. This was reaffirmed in 1957, in 1958, in 1959 and in 1960.<sup>3</sup>

In 1960, the conference outlined a programme of education in race relations which included interracial study groups, pulpit exchanges and visits between Church organizations. Moreover the possibility was to be explored of setting up a pilot city circuit scheme of a racially inclusive Church.<sup>4</sup>

In 1961 the conference resolved to proceed with the removal of racial demarcation from its official records and legislation. In 1963 the conference elected an African, the Rev. Seth Mokitimi, to be president.

The 1950 Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa—a self-governing Church within the worldwide Anglican

1. The editorial board of this magazine is both interdenominational and interracial.

2. *Cape Times*, 9 May 1966. Professor A. D. Pont of the University of Pretoria was reported as saying in a speech to a student body: 'It is not far fetched to allege that the Christian Institute and the journal *Pro Veritate* are nothing but liberalist stepping stones from which propaganda which suits Communism admirably are carried into our churches.' In the Christian Institute's first annual report Mr. Naudé stated that certain Afrikaans-speaking members had felt obliged to resign because of pressure brought to bear on them. See *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965, p. 12-13.

3. L. Cawood, op. cit., p. 50.

4. Methodist Church districts are divided into circuits and in South Africa these have been determined sometimes purely geographically, but sometimes racially.

communion (the supreme legislature body within the Church) made the following statement on race relations:

'The Conference is convinced that discrimination between men on grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of Christ's Religion . . . (we) believe that the effect of much recent legislation is likely to be the rigid division of the population into social classes with unequal rights, privileges and opportunities, and the relegation of the non-Europeans to a position of permanent inferiority, and for this reason condemns this legislation as inconsistent with the respect for human personality that should be characteristic of a Christian society. . . .'<sup>1</sup>

Several Anglican clergymen had made individual statements against the policy of the South African Government. Trevor Huddleston had protested particularly over the demolition of Sophia Town,<sup>2</sup> the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves had been outspoken in his opposition to the government's policy<sup>3</sup> and had been deported in September 1960, the Rev. Michael Scott had been imprisoned for taking part in a non-violent campaign against segregation, had left South Africa to take the case of South West Africa to the United Nations and was not readmitted to South Africa.<sup>4</sup> In addition, in 1963 several Anglican bishops in South Africa made statements condemning the apartheid policies of the government.<sup>5</sup> In 1963 the Minister of Foreign Affairs was reported as having said at a National Party meeting that the time had come to tell the bishops that it was not in the interests of their Church to intervene in South Africa's political issues.<sup>6</sup> The synod of bishops meeting in November 1963 issued this statement:

'In these circumstances, it seems necessary to the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, now meeting in Synod in Bloemfontein, to reaffirm their unanimity in proclaiming their conviction that the Church must openly and fearlessly condemn all that it believes to be evil and false in the social, political or economic life of any nation and, whenever the claims of obedience to the State and God are in conflict, it is to God that our obedience must be given.'<sup>7</sup>

1. Church of the Province of South Africa, *What my Church has said*.

2. Trevor Huddleston, *Naught for Thy Comfort*, Macmillan, 1965.

3. See footnote 4 on page 32.

4. Michael Scott, *A Time to Speak*, Faber, 1958. See also Freda Troup, *In Face of Fear*, Faber, 1953.

5. L. Cawood, op. cit., p. 63.

6. Reported in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 November 1963. Here quoted from L. Cawood, op. cit., p. 63.

7. Reported in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 November 1963. Here quoted from L. Cawood, op. cit., p. 63.



In 1952, 1957, 1960 and 1962, the Catholic bishops of Southern Africa issued joint pastoral letters on the situation in South Africa. In 1957 the pastoral letter entitled 'Statement on Apartheid' condemned apartheid and went on to say:

'There must be a gradual change... but change must come, for otherwise our country faces a disastrous future... This involves the elaboration of a sensible and just policy enabling any person, irrespective of race, to qualify for the enjoyment of full civil rights...'<sup>1</sup>

The pastoral letter of 1962 said in part: 'As Christian people we dare not remain silent and passive in the face of the injustices inflicted on members of the unprivileged racial groups...'<sup>2</sup> In July 1966 the bishops again, drawing conclusions from the Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, denounced apartheid and all forms of discrimination which it engenders.<sup>3</sup>

Since apartheid two great theological debates are being fought out in South Africa. The first, illustrated by the position taken by the bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, is an old one—the obedience which a Christian subject should give to a State who promulgates what are, in his opinion, intolerably evil laws and with it the right of his leaders to criticize these laws. The second theological debate is primarily a debate of this century and, in its acute form, was initiated precisely by the system of apartheid in a country whose leaders were prominent Christians. It was the meaning to be given to racial equality and whether or not the doctrine of the brotherhood of all Christians pre-supposed a multiracial Church. Within South Africa the lines drawn were principally between the Dutch Reformed Church, on the one hand, and the English-speaking Church, on the other. But even within these groupings the argument continued. Some theologians, including Geyser and Naudé and before them Marais and Keet,<sup>4</sup> within the Dutch Reformed Church took theological positions

1. South African Catholic Bishop's Conference, *Statement on Apartheid*, p. 2, Issued by the plenary session of the conference, held in Pretoria, 2-6 July 1957.

2. South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, *Christ in Our World*, p. 7. Released by the General Secretariat of the Catholic Bishops' Conference, Pretoria, 1962.

3. Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, July 1966, released by the General Secretariat of the Catholic Bishops' Conference, Pretoria, 1966.

See also *The Month at Unesco*, Paris, International Catholic Co-ordinating Centre for Unesco, 1966, p. 42.

4. See Gwendolyn M. Carter, *The Politics of Inequality in South Africa since 1948*, 2nd ed. London, Thames & Hudson, p. 272-80.

not unlike those of the bishops of the English-speaking Church, and that in spite of the strong sanctions which could be imposed on them to conform to the main trend of thinking of the members of their congregations and of their synods. Within the English-speaking Churches, too, there were some missionary leaders who advocated separatism for Africans.<sup>1</sup>

This debate was not confined to South Africa, it was part of the worldwide œcumenical debate of the 1950s and 1960s, although certainly by 1965 the idea of a multiracial Church was accepted by most Churches outside South Africa, and racial equality took on the meaning of multiracialism, as opposed to racial separatism in the statements of major Christian religions.<sup>3</sup> The Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa are being increasingly isolated, not only by the withdrawal of some of their groups from the World Council of Churches, but by their theological assumptions on the question of race.

There are now nearly 2,000 recognized Christian denominations in South Africa, compared to 300 in 1925. Ninety per cent of these are 'Bantu sects', also called 'separatist' or 'independent'. The 1960 population census gives the total following of these churches as 2,188,303.<sup>3</sup> They may be divided roughly into three types: (a) Ethiopians—Churches which have seceded from White mission churches; (b) Zionist Churches with an accent on healing, 'speaking with tongues' and food taboos; and (c) African Messianic movements, in which an African Messiah is supposed to have come to save the African people. All these groups, while holding many of the tenets of Christianity, nevertheless incorporate much of tribal African religion. Sundkler points to the importance of the Natives' Land Act of 1913 for the understanding of the growth of these separatist sects. After this, the desire for land and security produced the Zionist and Messianic myths, the theme of Moses leading his people to the promised land fitting in with the land hunger of the Africans.<sup>4</sup>

1. Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd of Lovedale quoted the example of the Bantu Presbyterian Church and wondered if the existence of African Separatist sects did not point to needs and opportunities unmet in multiracial churches. See B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 2nd ed., London, Lutterworth Press, p. 303.
2. The second Assembly of the World Council of Churches declared in part that: 'Segregation in all its forms is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ.' Here quoted from *The Future of South Africa: A Study by British Christians*, published for the British Council of Churches by SCM Press, London, 1965, p. 91-2.
3. 1960 population census. See also L. Cawood, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
4. B. G. M. Sundkler, *op. cit.*, p. 330.



Under apartheid, the role of the separatist sects, with few exceptions has been limited withdrawal from the world and accommodation to the State. The politically active African, if a Christian, is likely to be found in the other Churches. There are various reasons for the apolitical attitude of the separatists. One was the importance of government recognition for these Churches.

Church sites in urban areas may not be occupied by unrecognized Churches.<sup>1</sup> The very atmosphere of the strong anti-White protest out of which these Churches came into existence is conducive to a keeping apart from Whites. Moreover chiefs have become important members of these Churches, and these in return compete for the patronage of the chiefs who are themselves often part of the government system of 'Bantu homelands'.

The rise of 'separatist' Churches can certainly not be considered as simply a factor of the recent policy of apartheid, but rather as an African reaction to a continuous process of discrimination going back over many years. However, under apartheid the very fact of legal apartness provides a social system in which the separatist Churches are likely to flourish.

## 4 Literature



The following are comments by South African writers on the situation of creative literature in their country.<sup>2</sup> First the African

1. B. G. M. Sundkler, *op. cit.*, p. 306. This order has been in effect since 31 December 1960.
2. Biographic and bibliographic data in this chapter have been collected from the following works: *African-English Literature. A Short Survey and Anthology of Prose and Poetry up to 1965*, edited by Anne Tibble, London, 1965.

Ezekiel Mphahlele,<sup>1</sup> writing from Nairobi where he was then in exile: 'I feel very gloomy about the situation as far as creative writing is concerned. . . . Our energies go into this conflict to such an extent that we don't have much left for creative work. One might ask, 'Why could this not be a spur towards creative writing'. I think it is paralysing. As writers, we build up ready, stock responses which always come out in our writing. Also cultural work in South Africa is so fragmented. We are in two ghettos, two different streams, and you can't get really dynamic art in this kind of society. You won't get a great White novel, I think, and you won't get a great Black novel until we become integrated. As soon as the White man has learned to realize that he is an African and no longer a European, he will then begin to write an African novel or an African poem. Now, he still feels as part of Europe.'<sup>2</sup>

Two White South African writers put across the English position in South Africa, one in prose, the other in verse. South African English poetry belongs to a 'linguistic, political and cultural minority . . .' writes Guy Butler.<sup>3</sup>

'Our small numbers, and exposed position have prevented us from developing as strong a national sense as our cousins in other dominions. We speak a form of English which, I believe, shows fewer differences from standard English. . . . We lack cultural awareness and make a very half-hearted and ineffective contribution to political life. . . . But what market, what audience, can a scattered million be expected

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*Das junge Afrika, Erzählungen junger Afrikanischer Autoren*, edited by Janheinze Jahn, Vienna Munich, Basle, 1963.

*A Book of South African Verse*, selected and introduced by Guy Butler, London, 1959.

G. Dekker, *Afrikaanse Literatuurgeschiedenis*, 7th ed., Cape Town, 1963.

Janheinze Jahn, *Muntu, Umrisse der ncafrikanischen Kultur*, Düsseldorf-Cologne, 1958.

Poems from *Black Africa*, edited by Langston Hughes, Bloomington, U.S.A., 1963 (Unesco Collection of Contemporary Works).

*Schwarzer Orpheus, Moderne Dichtung afrikanischer Völker beider Hemisphären*, selected poems translated into German by Janheinze Jahn, Munich, 1964.

*South African Stories*, edited by David Wright, London, 1960.

1. Ezekiel Mphahlele, born in 1919 at Marabastad, an African township of Pretoria, was in his childhood a tribal herd boy. As a young man he worked on the magazine, *Drum*, a picture publication devoted primarily to subjects of interest to the African population. Fleeing apartheid, Mphahlele and his wife and three children settled in East Africa, where he teaches at the University of East Africa. His books include an autobiography, *Down Second Avenue* (1959), a volume of short stories, *The Living and the Dead*, and *The African Image* (1962). He now lives and teaches in Nairobi.
2. Topic No. 2, National Educational Television's African Writers Series.
3. *A Book of South African Verse*, op. cit., p. xvii ff. Guy Butler, one of the younger poets of South Africa, is professor of English at Rhodes University (Grahamstown, Cape Province).



to provide for their writers? Our cultural capital is still London, with New York as alternative.<sup>1</sup>

Anthony Delius<sup>2</sup> indulges more in satire than in apology:

'These million English are a vague communion  
Indifferent to leadership or goal,  
Their most accomplished children leave the Union.'<sup>3</sup>

The Afrikaner writer W. A. de Klerk writes:<sup>4</sup>

'What does an Afrikaans writer of the 1960's say to a fellow Afrikaans writer of the 1960's who has been isolated in his own statutory enclave? Who has reached a state of near hopelessness realizing that the more sharply defined legislation and general administrative measures become, the more nebulous things get. In fact, the whole situation . . . in South Africa bristles with ironies . . . There was a time, not so long ago, when we, the Afrikaner, reluctantly took part in all the various festivals of the Empire. As a schoolchild I remember our receiving coronation medals and little Union Jacks to wave. These we took pleasure in destroying. After all, we were but second-class citizens of the great Anglo-Saxon world. Coloured children will be expected to take part in the *Fees*. They will have the flag and sing the *Stem*. They too will do it, largely, without enthusiasm. After all they are but second-class citizens of the great Afrikaner world.'<sup>5</sup>

### *African and Coloured writers*

Three things stand out in the examination of African writing in South Africa: (a) the limited genre: almost totally the short story or the autobiography; (b) the protest nature of much of the writing; (c) the increasing tendency for South African Africans to write and to publish abroad.

1. In fact, literary periodicals do exist: *Contact and Contrast*, for example. The main periodical in the Afrikaans language, *Sestiger*, went out of print in 1965, when in an effort to avoid bankruptcy they were taken over by Voortrekker Press—but then the writing group refused to co-operate with the ideological demands of the new owners.

2. Anthony Delius, born in 1916 in Simonstown, South Africa, has published, *inter alia*, *An Unknown Border*, Cape Town, 1954.

3. From 'The Great Divide'; extracts are reproduced in *A Book of South African Verse*, London, 1959, p. 135.

4. W. A. de Klerk, Afrikaner, born in 1917. De Klerk has published a number of dramas and novels from 1941 on. All are written in Afrikaans.

5. *The Cape Times*, 3 February 1966.

How far are these three characteristics the result—direct or indirect—of the system of apartheid?

Ezekiel Mphahlele blames it on the African's environment:

'During the last twenty years the political, social climate of South Africa has been growing viciously difficult for a non-White to write in. It requires tremendous organization of one's mental and emotional faculties before one can write a poem or a novel or a play . . . (Africans) have to live from day to day. . . . The short story, therefore, serves as an urgent, immediate, intense concentrated form of unburdening yourself—and you must unburden yourself.'<sup>1</sup>

If one reason for the African short story is the social situation, another is the public for which the African writes. This is mainly an urban African public, only a minority of whom have had a secondary education.

If African writing draws part of its inspiration from the racy, colourful life of the urban townships, its readership is also to be found in those townships—a readership whose literary tastes are least informed, to whom excitement, romance, thrillers, are the world of retreat from poverty. This audience is the audience for which *Drum*, the South African magazine deliberately aimed at Africans, catered. Short stories appearing in *Drum* were not expected to be intellectual, they were expected to be sentimental love stories, or hard-hitting detective stories. *Drum* was for a long while the most important outlet for African journalists in South Africa, and its short story competition encouraged short-story writing in English. In fact, one can almost speak of a '*Drum* school' of writing—and that writing would include names like Mphahlele, Modisane and Nakasa, all of whom, at some period or other, wrote for *Drum*. Short-story writing offered quick returns in terms of money, it could be combined easily with a journalistic career, there was a ready reading public, but it was a specialized public. On the whole the White periodicals (with the exception of anti-government political journals) were not anxious to publish African writers.

Another of the reasons for African writing was to 'unburden' oneself; the autobiography presents an acceptable method of doing so.

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1. Quoted in: 'Post-War Literature in English by African Writers from South Africa: A Study of the Effects of Environment upon Literature', by Beruth Lindfors, published in *Phylon*, the Atlanta University review of race and culture, spring 1966, Vol. XXVII, p. 50-1.



The biographical novels of South Africans like Jabavu, Abrahams and Modisane,<sup>1</sup> are of particular interest; Jabavu's *Drawn in Colour* portrays the ambivalence that she felt within the African framework, her dislike and kinship with the Afrikaner, her mistrust for the English South African, her feeling of dismay at hearing that her sister had married an African she considered culturally inferior. Modisane pitilessly exposes the duality of his own manner before White South Africans, and Black South Africans, the slow destruction of this personality symbolized by the destruction of Sophia Town, the acceptance of the death of part of himself as symbolized by the interment of his name, painted by mistake on his father's coffin. Biography is used, not simply as a method of recreating a single life, but as a sharpened instrument to portray a social situation. It is this social situation which gives South African biography, and the near biographical novels, its peculiar poignancy and its political significance. This has been summed up by Janheinz Jahn speaking about Ezekiel Mphahlele's story *Down Second Avenue*, 'He treats his own life as a symbol of the situation in South Africa . . . because he tells the story without passion, almost without reproach, every experience becomes a paradigm, every personal oppression a general experience.'

The protest nature of much of South African writing stems as much from the emotional experience of apartheid as from the publishing opportunities which this writing offers. In South Africa itself periodicals like *Fighting Talk*, *New Age*, and *Africa South* (now all banned by the South African Government)<sup>2</sup> were primarily concerned with the political and social situation of the African under apartheid, and thus favoured literature which was critical of the social order. If *Drum* catered for the supposedly simple tastes of urban Africans, these publications catered for the political tastes of those who opposed apartheid. In addition, publishers abroad were interested mainly in African literature that was 'anti-apartheid'. Richard Rive points out that 'the only literature from the Republic which has any guarantee of selling abroad are works highly critical of the regime'.<sup>3</sup>

1. Bloke Modisane, South Africa, born c.1930, writer and actor, now living in England as a refugee. Noni Jabavu, African, born in South Africa in 1920, daughter of the South African linguist, the late D. D. T. Jabavu, came at 14 years of age to England for studies, later married an English film director. Several travels to South Africa, living in Uganda. Peter Abrahams, Coloured, born in Johannesburg in 1919, left South Africa in 1939, now living in Jamaica, teaches at the University of the West Indies, Kingston.

2. See Part IV, Chapter 2.

3. Quoted in: Beruth Lindfors, op. cit., p. 60.

Some of this protest literature has been of high literary quality: one thinks immediately of Alex la Guma,<sup>1</sup> Denis Brutus or Richard Rive. Nevertheless, the theme of racial conflict, the problems raised by discrimination, and the theme of the effects of the philosophy and policy of apartheid, narrows the creative field considerably.

There is a concern in some Afrikaner quarters that the African should produce his own literature in his own language. This is in line with the whole idea of the separate development of different peoples. The literature Commission of the Continuation Committee of South African Churches, in July 1959, invited eighty-nine writers in Bantu languages and a large number of other participants to a conference at Atteridgeville, Pretoria. The writers complained that they were forced to conceal the truth about society, to falsify attitudes and manners of speech if they were to find a publisher, in fact, the use of the vernacular confined them not only to language, but more important, to theme. It was significant that the writers represented were mainly authors of books used in schools and universities, none of them were African writers of a world reputation.

'There was scarcely a writer known to Whites, no Peter Abrahams, Ezekiel Mphahlele nor Can Temba, and the celebrated Africans that Whites have heard of—Vilakazi, Mqhayi, Mofolo, Plaatje, Jabavu—are all no more. The literary talent spotters would have been disappointed, for among the eighty-nine writers assembled, there were few whose names will ever be seen in the *London Magazine* or *Presence Africaine*.'<sup>2</sup>

Writers writing in African languages were faced with the fact that publishers, even when they chose to publish or not to publish on strictly economic terms, had to consider the small African reading audience, its poverty, and the non-existence of a market outside South Africa. It was difficult to add to this the risk involved in publishing a controversial book which, besides catering to a small population, could be banned by the Government if it was critical of the Government. The injunction that African writers should produce manuscripts suitable for use in schools and should therefore deal neither with

1. Alex la Guma, born c.1925, Cape Town, Coloured, tried for treason in 1956. Under house arrest in South Africa.
2. 'The Conference of African Writers, 1959', by Randolph Vigne in *South African Libraries*, Vol. 27, October 1959, No. 2, p. 33.



political nor with Church conflicts<sup>1</sup> is the attitude not only of the publisher who agrees with apartheid, but also of the publisher who must be sure that he can sell the books he publishes.<sup>2</sup>

The widespread use of English as the language of most African South African writers and their critical attitude to mother tongue instruction within the apartheid system which runs counter to the attitude of many linguistic groups in other countries, must be seen against the need to communicate to an audience larger than their own tribe, and in particular, their need to choose to a freer extent the subject matter of their writings. It is difficult to see how any African writer could afford to ignore the social and political position in South Africa and still produce an adult book. Moreover, the factors which now mould African thought in South Africa, the experience from which he writes, is no longer confined to the experience of the rural countryside, nor to the historical traditions of his forefathers, but is part of a wider urban experience shared by Africans who, initially differing in tribal background, find themselves increasingly part of the same present-day situation, contemplating the same prospects for the future. Much of this situation is defined by apartheid itself, much of the common experience comes from the limitations imposed by the system of enforced separation.

Lewis Nkosi, Raymond Kuenene, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Peter Abrahams, Alfred Hutchinson, Bloke Modishane—all well-known names in African writing—live outside South Africa. Alex la Guma is in South Africa, but under house arrest. Denis Brutus left South Africa recently on a one-way exit permit after having been under house arrest. Richard Rive lives in South Africa, but publishes abroad. Nearly all the major works by African South African writers, writing in English, have been banned as 'indecent, objectionable, or obscene'.

Few new writers have emerged over the recent years, and fewer are likely to reach an international audience in the years to come. The government policy of mother tongue instruction may well leave Africans literate only in a Bantu language and the field of writing circumscribed both by language and by the political climate in the Republic.

1. *Muntu*, English edition, translated from Janheinz Jahn, op. cit.

2. 'The British Publisher in South Africa', by W. P. Kerr, manager, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., South and Central Africa, in *South African Libraries*, Vol. 26, January 1959, No. 3, p. 78.

English literature by White South Africans

In 1948, Alan Paton's<sup>1</sup> novel *Cry the Beloved Country* made an immediate impact and opened the way for the protest school of English-speaking writers which began to grow up in the 1950s. It also influenced African writers.

Professor N. P. Van Wyk Louw, the Afrikaner poet, criticized this group of writers illustrated by Nadine Gordimer<sup>2</sup> and Alan Paton: 'The English South African writers have it easier than us Afrikaans writers. They simply touch on the race problems and offer solutions of a liberal or progressive nature keeping the door open to flit away to safety. . . .'<sup>3</sup> Nadine Gordimer replied: 'During the past ten years, South Africa has lost many English-speaking writers and intellectuals generally, including the entire nucleus of the newly emergent Black African writers. . . . If I, or any other English-writing White South African, should leave my homeland, it would be for the same reason that those others have already done; not because they fear the Black man, but because they grow sick at heart with the lies, the cheatings, the intellectual sophistry . . . sick of the brutalities perpetuated as Whites in their name.'<sup>4</sup>

The choice as seen by the English-speaking writer who does not support apartheid, but nevertheless wants to live in South Africa, is illustrated by the positions taken by Athol Fugard<sup>5</sup>—the author of the play *The Blood Knot*—and by Alan Paton. In 1962, Athol Fugard explained that his plays would only be produced before non-segregated audiences, yet in 1965 *Hello and Goodbye* was presented at the Library Theatre to an all-White audience. Before each public performance there was a private viewing by a mixed audience. For this there was no publicity and no tickets sold. Three years before there were places where one could play to mixed audiences, now there was no longer a choice, permits were no longer given for mixed audiences.

'I exist in South Africa only on the basis of my profession as a playwright and in terms of what I can say. If I am silent, what am I? . . .

1. Alan Paton, born in Natal 1903, has lived in Natal and in the Transvaal. Elected national chairman of the South African Liberal Party in 1956.
2. Nadine Gordimer, born in Johannesburg before the war, went to Witwatersrand University. Her first novel was *The Lying Days*, published in 1953.
3. Republished in the *Sunday Times (South Africa)*, 9 August 1964, from the literary periodical *Sestiger*.
4. *Sunday Times (South Africa)*, 9 August 1964.
5. Athol Fugard's play *The Blood Knot* was shown in London in 1963 and enjoyed a long run in New York. In 1963 Athol Fugard founded an African theatre company in Port Elizabeth, Cape Town.



An outsider who wants to protest can do so from a distance. I am in it here. . . . We have each to make a personal assessment of what is going to be most effective . . . speech under certain conditions or silence. I believe speech is of more value. Paton has made the other choice. We respect each other. Moreover I think I have reached a stage where the horizon is tomorrow. . . . At the moment I think I can go on producing plays under segregation (even admitting some non-Whites to private readings). But eventually I may have to take a stand like Paton's. We are in a corner. And all we can do is dodge here and push there. And under it all there's a backwash of guilt.'<sup>1</sup>

Alan Paton, too, agreed that for a writer it was of great importance to be heard. In 1962 he was unable to attend the Edinburgh International Writers' Conference because his passport had been withdrawn by the South African Government. He wrote to the conference instead, ' . . . a writer, like an actor or a speaker or a musician has a passion to communicate, and that means he has a passion to be heard'.<sup>2</sup> However, Paton's choice was precisely to stop being heard in protest against the policy of his government.

Guy Butler reports that:

'Of the twenty-three poets who have emerged since the twenties, only four were not born in South Africa. Ten of them, however, have migrated, some in their teens, some in their twenties. Some no longer regard themselves as South Africans. Others return whenever they can.'

English South African writers, like African writers, are preoccupied with the South African situation of racial conflict. Of the two plays to reach London and New York recently, Athol Fugard's *The Blood Knot* and Alan Paton's *Sponono*,<sup>3</sup> one exploits the theme of 'passing for White' as played out by two brothers, one of whom happens to be White and the other Coloured, and the other the theme of the failure of communication or 'contact' between the two human beings who are kept divided in a double sense by the law which makes of one a delinquent, mainly by reason of his colour, and of the other an unforgiving functionary of and from a privileged group.

1. Interview by Lewis Sowden, *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 October 1965.

2. Address at a NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) Conference, University of Cape Town, published in the *Sunday Times*, July 1965.

3. *Sponono* has never been played to segregated audiences in South Africa.

This is not meant to be an exhaustive survey of South African literature, not all South African writers protest and many of the problems which face South African writers are shared to some extent with writers from other countries. For example, the preoccupation with the biographical form is not peculiarly South African. What is different in South Africa is the deliberate attempt to compartmentalize the people of South Africa. It is difficult to see how, under these conditions, the English South African writer can completely identify himself with a larger South Africa. The process by which an indigenous literature comes into being would seem to be retarded by a political process which keeps English South Africans as a group apart. This is not to say that within difficult social-political structures great art and great writing have not been produced, and certainly some of the writing coming out of South Africa draws its strength from the very nature of the South African present. A writer is part of the social situation; in South Africa he cannot remain isolated from the effects of the policy of apartheid. The restrictions of the system are bound to affect the content of the literature he produces, and partly to determine the audience for which he writes. For a dramatist the moral issues are even more immediate, for theatre is a public art, and playwrights in South Africa are faced with the choice of being heard mainly by a section of the public, racially determined by government regulation, or not to be heard at all.

### *Afrikaans literature*

Afrikaans had become the language of the Afrikaner, different not only to the language spoken by the English, but different from the language spoken by the Dutch. It marked the Afrikaner off as a separate people, linked together not only by the saga of the trek, the tradition of the laager, but also by a language forged in Africa itself.

Afrikaner writers were understandably part of the upsurge of Afrikaner nationalism; it was they who framed this language into an idiom of poetic thought. They considered themselves more firmly part of the South African scene than the English-speaking writers who were still within the literary traditions of England—a view underlined by the fact that White English writers could get a reading public abroad. Afrikaner writers were restricted to the Afrikaans public in South Africa. They were far more open to the sanctions of the Afrikaner group than any other section of the writing population. They were



often members of the Dutch Reformed Church. They had kinship ties in the Afrikaner community, and they sometimes shared the objectives and suppositions of the apartheid philosophy. Yet all Afrikaner writers do not submit unquestioningly to the practices of their Government. There had been from the beginning a recognition of the Coloureds as part inheritors in the Afrikaner traditions. The Wolfie songs<sup>1</sup> of the Coloured population were acknowledged as part of the inspiration of the Afrikaner writers. Adam Small, a Coloured poet, was a respected member of their group writing in Afrikaans and for a while a member of the Sestigers Board<sup>2</sup> . . . until *Sestiger* in financial difficulties was taken over by Voortrekker Press, and Adam Small was forced to resign. Rabie, another Afrikaner writer, claimed that 'the old political front had been won . . . for political values but firstly, for autonomy in writing'.<sup>3</sup> It was the erosion of this autonomy in writing that brought protests from Afrikaner writers.

By far the most important developments among the Afrikaner writers of the sixties was a reaction to the whole structure of Afrikaner living, of which apartheid was a part. The quarrel between the Sestiger group of young writers and the older group of writers was not simply a revolt of the young over the issue of apartheid, although this, an integral part of a wider social structure, eventually became one of the issues.

'I feel in myself', wrote Etienne Leroux—a leader of the Sestigers—'the rebellion against dead tradition and worn-out symbols, but I also long for a renewed sense of cosmic order and security. I realize in myself the dilemma of modern man, and I write what I feel and see and hear.'<sup>4</sup>

It has become increasingly obvious that the Afrikaner writer is no more willing to be dictated to as to choice of subject than his African or English-speaking colleagues. A protest by 130 South African writers and 55 painters and sculptors against the Publications and Entertainments Bill, 1963, was signed by many leading Afrikaans novelists and poets. They expressed their deep alarm for the future of creative effort in South Africa. They held: 'Above all, writers who must publish inside the country are liable to be forced either into

1. Folk songs, known as the 'Wolfie songs'.

2. The Sestigers were a loose grouping of Afrikaner writers, who published the literary periodical *Sestiger* and became known by its name.

3. Address at a NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) Conference, University of Cape Town, published in the *Sunday Times*, 1 July 1965.

4. Quoted in Douglas Brown: *Against the World, a Study of White South African Attitudes*, p. 173.

silence or superficiality with fatal consequences especially for Afrikaans literature'.

This is not to imply that the entire Afrikaner writing group is in revolt against the principle of apartheid, this is not so even among the Sestigers themselves, it is just to point out that there is an important new strand in Afrikaner writing, which, by widening the subject matter of Afrikaans writing to include social issues, has had to take into account the limitations imposed by the system of apartheid, which restricts academic freedom and increases intellectual isolation from the rest of the world.

## 5 Public libraries<sup>1</sup>

South African libraries include the two national deposit libraries, the South African Library and the Library of Pretoria. Both these libraries, besides receiving a copy of every book published in South Africa, also house important collections.

South Africa has had a long tradition of library service. The periodical of the South African Library Association, *South African Libraries*, is a useful guide for library administration and methods. Its articles discuss the latest techniques in librarianship, microfilming, electronic computing, facet analysis, and library research in other countries.

The libraries, with their rich book collections, with their trained staff, could be an important factor in the cultural life of South Africa.

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1. See also Part I, Chapter 9, 'School Libraries'. In addition to the Public Library Service, there are university libraries open to accredited readers, and special libraries either attached to industrial firms or for special categories of people, e.g., the blind.



They could also be an important factor in her educational life, since they provide a method of maintaining and encouraging literacy and an avenue for self-improvement through home reading and studying.

Library service is provided separately for the different population groups. The use of libraries in urban areas is governed by the Group Areas Act, which reserves public buildings in a particular area for the use of the major population group of that area. It is also governed by the Separate Amenities Act which provides that separate amenities be provided for White and non-White groups using the same service.

As a result, the major libraries remain closed to non-White South Africans. Separate readings rooms are provided in the deposit libraries. Collections of other libraries, valuable as they are, may only be used through inter-loan service. In accordance with the ideology of separate development, branches have been opened up for the different sections of the community in some areas.

In 1964 the European Library in Pietermaritzburg showed a bookstock of 63,398 books in the lending department, and 34,897 books in the reference department. The Market Square branch for non-Europeans, mainly Coloureds and Asians, showed an entire bookstock of 11,137.

Additions for that year are shown in Table 39.

TABLE 39<sup>1</sup>

Additions	White Library	Market Square Branch
<i>Lending department</i>		
Non-fiction	1 242	179
Fiction in English	1 981	270 (in English and Afrikaans)
Fiction in Afrikaans	120	
Children's books	1 570	627 98 (vernacular books)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4 913</b>	<b>1 174</b>
<i>Reference stock</i>		
Copyright books	1 805	2 (reference books)
Other reference books	1 141	
Pamphlets	1 649	
Maps	142	
Music	153	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4 890</b>	

1. The Natal Society, Pietermaritzburg, *Annual Report for the Financial Year ending 31 December 1964*.

In Cape Town where there had been some use of public library facilities on a non-segregated basis, the Cape Provincial Administration ruled in 1963 that the council would have to make further efforts to provide separate facilities for the different population groups in accordance with the Provincial Library Ordinance of 1955. The main libraries concerned in Cape Town were the Central, Woodstock and Wynberg libraries where there was a substantial membership from varying groups. As a result of this, libraries for non-Whites were being constructed in Woodstock and Wynberg while separate entrances to the lending libraries and separate reading rooms were being established in other branches.

In 1964 there were nineteen branches of the city libraries for Whites and twelve sub-branches for Coloureds. There was one travelling library for Whites and two for Coloureds.

In the three African townships in Cape Town there is no library provision; one of the problems was the lack of funds and the absence of any clear-cut responsibility for financing African libraries. 'Neither the Department of Bantu Administration and Development nor the Cape Provincial administration subsidized expenditure on library services for the Bantu. . . . It is to be hoped that the question of where the responsibility lies for the provision of libraries for the Bantu, particularly in the Cape, will soon be clearly established.'<sup>1</sup>

In Durban there are eleven municipal library depots and one reference library for Whites, one library for Coloureds and one branch library for Africans.

Library provision for Africans in provincial rural districts vary according to places. The Transvaal Provincial Library service established in 1963 a service for Africans which is run on the same principle as that of Whites. The bookstock for Africans is much smaller than the bookstock for Whites, but this could be partly due to the newness of the service. In the Orange Free State there is a free library service for Whites only—there is no corresponding service for Africans. In some areas there are libraries run by voluntary service and started by an individual or groups of individuals, as for instance the Bantu service library for the Venda people of the Northern Transvaal which was started in January 1962. The bookstock consisted of gifts from individuals and institutions. The library is housed in a private house and run on a completely voluntary basis by a teacher. That there was

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1. *Cape Town City Libraries Annual Report 1963*, p. 4.



a demand for a library service in this area is shown by an initial reader registration of 1,000.<sup>1</sup>

The demand for books is always qualified by the social and economic situation of the African himself. He often grows up in a home where there are no books, he has little money to spend on books, he has often not acquired the love of reading. He is often literate only in his mother tongue, and there is little incentive to read as part of a study course when conditions for economic advancement are so low.

'The best that can be said of the non-European libraries is that they provide an opportunity for the few able to benefit from them. For the mass of the people it must be recognized that they will not use books for pleasure until there has been a considerable advance in their economic and social conditions.'<sup>2</sup>

*South African Libraries* points to poverty, the teaching in the vernacular, which means that Africans are illiterate in English and in Afrikaans while there is little literature in their 'mother tongue', and the unwillingness of municipal and provincial authorities to finance the administration of the service as reasons for the low percentage of library users among Africans.<sup>3</sup>

The situation with regard to school libraries has been discussed in Part I, Chapter 9. It is only necessary to reiterate here that the poverty of the bookstock in non-White public libraries makes it impossible to supplement the inadequate book provision of the libraries in non-White schools.

Audio-visual material, films, records and pictures, are becoming part of the stock of public libraries in many countries and in South Africa. One would expect these materials to be of particular use to partly literate groups; in fact, their use would seem to be restricted mainly to White libraries, although Cape Town libraries reported the use of both films and story-reading for non-European audiences.

In Cape Province films were provided to library users as part of the library provision in 1959. Then, 2,319 film shows were given for Europeans and 180 to non-Europeans.<sup>4</sup>

In 1958, 1,295 films were shown to 59,594 adult Europeans and 49,508 European children. During the same period 67 films were

1. *South African Libraries*, Vol. 31, Jan. 1964, p. 114-16.

2. 'Libraries and the non-European in South Africa', *South African Libraries*, Vol. 25, Oct. 1967, No. 2, p. 43.

3. Editorial, *South African Libraries*, Vol. 25, Oct. 1957.

4. *South African Libraries*, Vol. 28, July 1960, No. 1, p. 18.

shown to 5,999 non-European adults and 11,264 non-European children. The average attendance per film was 77 Europeans and 227 non-Europeans. In 1951, 2,319 film shows were held for Europeans and 180 for non-Europeans.<sup>1</sup> Of the total art prints purchased by the Audio Visual Section of the Cape Provincial Libraries—7,227 by the end of 1959—only 636 were for non-European libraries.<sup>2</sup>

Staffing and staff training for librarians is important in any discussion of library provision. The importance of trained librarians in any library cannot be underestimated, but it is particularly important where poor bookstocks must be exploited to their fullest capacity.

Training for White librarians could be obtained until 1965 at seven centres: the South African Library Association, the Universities of Pretoria, Cape Town, South Africa, Potchefstroom, Stellenbosch and Witwatersrand. However, the South African Library Association examinations were due to end in 1965, in conformity with the trend to train librarians at universities. Only the University of South Africa and the South African Library Association offered courses in librarianship through correspondence courses to non-Whites. 'The demand for such training is not great owing to the fewer libraries for non-Whites and consequently fewer employment possibilities.'<sup>3</sup>

In the University College of the Western Cape for Coloureds, a senior lecturer in library science has been appointed, but (1960), library training had not been established in the other non-White colleges. 'It is too early to report on them yet except to say that at most of them a European librarian has already been appointed.'<sup>4</sup>

The decision of the South African Government that the principle of separate development be applied to learned societies<sup>5</sup> received the support of the South African Library Association, which decided to help in the formation of library associations for Africans, for Coloureds and for Indians.<sup>6</sup> The number of non-White staff employed by public libraries remains very small.

The staffing arrangements for the Johannesburg public library in 1963-64 showed 21 librarians, 21 assistant librarians and 42 library

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1. Province of the Cape of Good Hope, *Report of the Director of Library Services for the Years 1958 and 1959*, p. 2.

2. *ibid.*

3. *South African Libraries*, Vol. 28, July 1960, No. 1, p. 18.

4. *ibid.*

5. See also Chapters in Part I and Part II.

6. National Conference of the South African Library Association, one-day conference held at Pretoria, 7 November 1962.



assistants who were White. There were no librarians and no assistant librarians among non-Whites, but there were 12 non-White library assistants.<sup>1</sup> The staff of the Port Elizabeth Public Library included two non-Whites: a Coloured head-caretaker and two African cleaners.<sup>2</sup>

The number of hours that branch libraries remained open varied with the population groups. In Johannesburg the branch libraries for the White population were open normally for 46 hours per week.<sup>3</sup>

The separation of facilities under the apartheid system makes it unlikely or at least very doubtful that adequate library services can be made available to all sections of the South African public. The provision of separate bookstocks would make book provision in any event extremely expensive, the price of reference books, the initial cost of building up reference stocks for each population group, the upkeep of these, would seem prohibitive. While, in theory, books may be borrowed by post through an inter-loan system, choosing from a catalogue is hardly comparable to the open access to shelves available to the White population.

The difference in methods of financing and the uncertainty as to which authority would have eventually the financial responsibility for non-White libraries must make for poor library services while the maintenance of separate library systems must lead to cumbersome administration.



1. *Johannesburg Public Libraries Report, 1963-64*, p. 22.

2. *Port Elizabeth Public Library Annual Report for the Year ending December 1963*.

3. See library schedules in *Johannesburg Public Library Annual Report 1962-63*.

## 6 Entertainment

The Group Areas Act, 1950<sup>1</sup> empowered the President to issue proclamations concerning the 'occupation of premises' according to population groups. By proclamation No. 164 of 1958, 'occupation' was made to include attendance at cinemas: non-Whites may not be allowed to attend cinema shows in a White district unless a special permit by the competent minister is given, nor are Whites permitted to attend cinema performances in a Coloured, Asian or African area.

Proclamation R.26 of 12 February 1965 defined the concept of 'occupation' as declared in the Group Areas Act, as including the occupation (of a seat) at 'any place of public entertainment'.

The Entertainment (Censorship Act), 1931, empowered the Minister of Education to prohibit the giving of a public entertainment until the Board of Censors appointed under the Act had investigated the matter. This Act was replaced by the Publication and Entertainment Act, 1963. Under Section 12, the Publications Control Board has the power to prohibit the giving of a public entertainment if the Board is satisfied that the entertainment concerned: (a) may have the effect of (i) giving offence to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic, or (ii) bringing any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt, or (b) is contrary to the public interest or is indecent or obscene or offensive or harmful to public morale.

The possible effect of Group Area Proclamations on traditional festivities is illustrated by the story of District Six and Coon Carnival. District Six is the main residential centre of the Coloured population of Cape Town, although there are small numbers of Indians, Malays

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1. See also the Introduction.



and Africans also living there. It is predominantly a slum area and is regarded by Whites as 'dangerous'. It is in this district that the only well organized Mardi Gras (Coon Carnival) in South Africa takes place. It is prepared with much care long in advance and ends at the Sports Arena with troupes competing. While the participants are Coloured, the onlookers belong to every race.

District Six has now been proclaimed a White Area;<sup>1</sup> the Coloured occupants will be moved to the outskirts of Cape Town. If the carnival is organized at all, it will be in the new area—and Cape Town will have lost one of its gayest and oldest multiracial spectacles.

Public participation in cultural activities belongs to a very strong African tradition. The tradition of the story teller, of dancing and music that was part of the ritual of tribal life, was translated in the urban districts into jazz and song sessions in which large groups of people participated, often around the *shebeen* drinking quarters of the African townships. While jazz was and remained principally an African cultural pastime, Whites and Coloureds joined in these jazz sessions. Laws which prevented inter-racial mixing (R.26), the demolition of urban townships and the regulations governing political activities affected these meetings. Not only did it make it difficult for White South Africans to join with the Africans in jazz parties, but the narrow boundary between satire and political activities greatly restricted the possible content of popular tunes. Moreover, the continual swoop of the police on African areas, in the search for Africans who had contravened one regulation or another, created a situation of insecurity under which public cultural gatherings could not exist freely. While audiences outside South Africa were applauding the jazz plays put on by the inter-racial Union Artists Dorkay House, Johannesburg, and plays by the African Music and Drama Association like *King-Kong* or *Township Jazz*, jazz was being crippled within South Africa itself. How effective this crippling was, was seen in the Dollar Brand case. In March 1965, the Minister of Community Development banned non-White audiences from Selbourne Hall, part of the Johannesburg City Hall. As a result, the South African tour by the famous jazz musician Dollar Brand was cancelled. Dollar Brand (Coloured) is considered one of the best exponents of modern South African jazz. A spokesman for Union Artists who were to

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1. February 1966.

sponsor the tour explained that it would not pay to bring Dollar Brand out for an all-White audience in the Johannesburg auditorium.<sup>1</sup>

The Luxurama Theatre is situated in a Coloured area in Cape Town. Traditionally the audiences have been multiracial. The Minister of Community Development explained that while it had been previously lawful for Whites to attend cinemas in the Coloured area, they could no longer do so unless authorized by permit.<sup>2</sup> On 13 February 1965, the last multiracial audience was held while the owners prepared themselves for the new regime of 'mixed shows by permit'.<sup>3</sup>

The audiences at symphony concerts given by the municipal orchestra in the Cape Town City Hall were multiracial and unsegregated. The Government first requested the City Council to provide that, at multiracial shows, there should be separate booking offices, entrances, exits, seating and toilet facilities. The City Council at first refused. However, a Government Proclamation of 11 June 1965 declared the whole of the central city of Cape Town a White area, and the provision of separate amenities is now enforceable.

### *International reactions*

Athol Fugard had written an open letter to playwrights in 1962 on the occasion of the opening of The Parthenon on Braamfontein Hill, the new civic theatre in Johannesburg:

'This theatre was built with the labour of hundreds of non-Whites ... but not one of these labourers, not one non-White actor, singer or writer will be able to see a performance in the season of opera. Even the customary gesture of a "special performance for non-Whites" has gone by the board.

'It is yet again for Whites only.

'Is this—the presentation of your plays as the exclusive property of our self-indulgent White theatre—the result of ignorance or indifference on your part?'<sup>4</sup>

Playwrights in co-operation with the Anti-Apartheid movement in the United Kingdom, U.S.A., France and Ireland, instructed their agents 'to insert a clause in all future contracts automatically refusing

1. *Star*, 7 March 1965.

2. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 303 ff.

3. *Star*, 13 February 1965.

4. In *Forward*, September 1962.



performing rights in any theatre where discrimination is made among audiences on grounds of colour'.<sup>1</sup>

John Arden gave his reasons for not permitting his plays to be shown in South Africa:

'I think I would not do so if my works were novels or poetry: and indeed I have never withdrawn my published plays for anywhere. But the theatre is nothing if it is not a public art, presented before an audience. If that audience is forcibly confined to one section of a community at the expense of another, the play performed is not public. Its very performance is a declaration of support for whatever laws or customs or prejudices have prevented certain groups or individuals from attending.'<sup>2</sup>

It became practically impossible to put on any of the modern English plays. John Whiteley, a South African actor, in a letter to the British actress Vanessa Redgrave, who had been one of the organizers of the ban in England, claimed that 'the banning tides . . . threaten death to theatre in South Africa . . .' 'the immediate result of this ban is to destroy the hopes and living of English-language theatre in this country'.<sup>3</sup> To John Whiteley the ban meant death to English theatre, it would mean a step towards the establishment of the supremacy at a cultural level of the Afrikaner Volk.

Brian Brooks, in a tour abroad in an effort to get new plays for his theatre, managed to get only two—and one of these, *Barefoot in the Park* by Neil Simon, only when he had persuaded Mr. Simon to allow the production on condition that part of the proceeds would be given to non-White theatre.

The South African Association of Theatrical Managements appealed to the Minister of the Interior, Mr. de Klerk, to appreciate the serious threat to South African theatre that had resulted from the ban. Alan Paton, declining to appeal to overseas theatre leaders to lift their culture ban on South Africa, refuted the allegation being made in some quarters that the overseas ban was bringing politics into the

1. (a) We say 'No' to apartheid: a declaration of American Artists circulated by the American Committee on Africa. (b) Declaration of 54 playwrights, 5 June 1963, Anti-Apartheid movement, United Kingdom. (c) Declaration of Irish playwrights, 22 September 1964. (d) Playwrights who signed these declarations include Shelagh Delaney, Daphne du Maurier, Graham Greene, Iris Murdoch, Sean O'Casey, J. B. Priestley, John Osborne, Jean-Paul Sartre, C. P. Snow, Arnold Wesker, Conrad Aiken, Patrick Calvin, John McCann, Arthur Miller.

2. *The Times*, 16 May 1965.

3. *Sunday Times*, 14 March 1965.

theatre: 'We must face a hard fact if we want a colour bar, whether it is called apartheid or separate development, we must expect to pay a price for it. Cultural isolation is one of the prices. It was clearly the Government (by a great section of the electorate) that brought politics into the theatre, and we, the producers, the actors, the theatre-goers, must pay the price for it.'<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Robert Langford, chairman of the association, was reported as saying that 'all the several Johannesburg theatre managements together would not be able to scrape together enough material to fill even one theatre for one year. . . . when I started three decades ago we had the problem of no public. But that was not nearly so terrible as the situation in which we find ourselves today. Now we have a theatre-conscious public, although it is small; we have good players, we have theatres; but we have no plays, and without plays, we will have no theatre'.<sup>2</sup>

The ban was particularly important since South Africa was itself producing little writing in the field of drama.

South African audiences were faced with the possibility of seeing only the Restoration plays and the classics, plays that were beyond the copyright provisions.

The protest of foreign writers arose from their personal abhorrence of the evil of racism. They agreed with Paton that cultural isolation was the price that South Africa had to pay for apartheid, but their action was based on the Berne Copyright Convention which gave artists and authors the legal right to authorize the publication and performance of their works.<sup>3</sup>

In 1965 a new Copyright Act was passed. During the committee stage of the Copyright Bill, a clause was inserted with the object of preventing authors from prohibiting the performance of their works in South Africa on ideological grounds. Article 50 (1) empowers the State President to make 'such regulations as he may consider necessary in regard to the circulation, presentation or exhibition of any work or production'.

Article 50 (3) of the act also provides that:

'The circulation, presentation or exhibition of any work or production in pursuance of authority granted in terms of such regulations shall

1. *Star*, 14 March 1965.

2. *Sunday Times*, 7 March 1965.

3. Berne Convention, Articles 9, 11, 12, 13 and 14.



not constitute an infringement of copyright in such work or production, but the author shall not thereby be deprived of his right to a reasonable remuneration, which shall in default of agreement be determined by arbitration.'

PEN, South Africa, opposed the clause as being contrary to the Berne Convention of which South Africa is a signatory, notwithstanding. They condemned the decision of overseas playwrights to refuse permission for their works to be performed in South Africa. The South African delegate to the Congress of International PEN claimed that the action of the playwrights was contrary to the PEN charter, but a resolution to that effect was lost after PEN heard another group of South Africans putting the case for the boycott.

Overseas actors had also protested against apartheid. In 1956, British Equity<sup>1</sup> passed a resolution: 'This meeting urges the council instructing all members of the Equity not to work in any theatres in which any form of colour bar operates unless there is a clause in the contract to ensure that a definite proportion, to be decided by Equity, of the performances given under contract shall be open to all non-Europeans or if possible to persons of any colour, race or creed.'

Over the next few years Equity undertook to bargain with the South African Government on behalf of their members for a proportion of shows to be shown to non-segregated groups. This proved to be difficult to achieve; not only were they faced with the Group Areas Act, but there were local administrative procedures and there was always the possibility that where these did not apply there could be conditions written into the constitution of a sponsoring club, or in the regulations governing the use of a particular building.

In its negotiations with South African theatre management, Equity was able to register some gains. African Consolidated Theatre, the biggest cinema concern in South Africa, opened its doors for the first time to non-Europeans. The tour of the musical *My Fair Lady* proved that Equity could, if it wished, get the support of American and Australian companies to help their stand, and not to go to South Africa to perform this particular musical on terms other than the ones they were demanding.

The Dusty Springfield case, however, pointed to the difficulties of ensuring that promises made by South African agents to overseas

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1. British Equity is the trade union of actors and entertainers in Great Britain and normally arranges overseas contracts for them.

performers that they could play before multiracial audiences would be kept.

Before coming to South Africa, the British 'pop' singer Dusty Springfield had stated that she was determined to appear before multiracial audiences. After her arrival in Cape Town, where she was due to appear at the Luxurama Theatre, the Department of the Interior decided to exercise the right to demand that she should have a visa, although she held a British passport. The visa would be granted on condition that she signed a declaration that she would not appear before multiracial audiences. This she refused to do. A visa was then granted for twenty-four hours only, which meant that she had to leave South Africa the next day.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1965, the Minister of the Interior outlined in Parliament the government policy with regard to multiracial audiences. Foreign artists were gladly received, but were expected to honour South Africa's customs.<sup>2</sup> In February, on some occasions, non-Whites were advised by the authorities not to attend theatrical performances although the theatres were provided with separate seating accommodation.

The Equity resolution of 9 March 1965 stated that 'While recognizing that there are those who honestly believe that racial intolerance can best be fought by their presence, working in South Africa, and while believing that a decision of conscience cannot be forced on the membership, nevertheless invites all members of Equity to sign a declaration that they endorse the Council's policy and will not perform in South Africa if they are forbidden to play before multiracial audiences'.<sup>3</sup>

Up to 12 May 1966, 2,876 members had signed the declaration. With or without the signature, however, the instructions, as apart from the total declaration, remained binding.

Actors Equity Australia has in force a resolution similar to the British Equity one of 1965, and in the U.S.A. members of Actors' Equity have been directed not to appear in South Africa.

The British Musicians' union operates a total ban on all performances in South Africa and all its members are required to observe its instruc-

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1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1965*, op. cit., p. 301 ff.

2. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 1, 1965, cols. 17-19.

3. British Actors' Equity Association.



tions. The London Symphony Orchestra, for example, excluded South Africa from the itinerary of its tour arranged to coincide with the sixtieth anniversary of the orchestra.

## 7 Sport

There is no legislation dealing with sports specifically, although representatives of the Government have threatened that special legislation might be introduced if the policy of the Government is not complied with. However, the Group Areas Act, the Special Amenities Act and the Proclamation R.26 all affect sporting activities.

The separation of the 'races' in the field of sport covers five different but related issues: (a) mixed teams; (b) interracial team competitions; (c) the participation of non-White players in games played on fields in all-White districts; (d) the composition of foreign teams visiting South Africa; (e) mixed audiences.

### *Mixed teams*

The policy of the South African Government—as stated on several occasions by the Minister of the Interior—is that Whites and non-Whites should arrange their sporting activities separately. They should not belong to the same clubs. In sporting organizations, however, a White organization may offer affiliation status to a non-White organization, but in this 'federation' Whites should represent the organization where external relations are concerned.<sup>1</sup>

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1961, op. cit., p. 273; and . . . 1964, p. 282.

In some overseas matches there could be separate South African 'contingents'—the Whites representing White South Africa, and the non-Whites the non-White population in South Africa.<sup>1</sup>

In line with the Government's policy, the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA), composed of representatives of a number of national bodies in the field of sport, has encouraged its constituent White bodies to offer affiliation to non-White bodies.

The South African Sports Association (SASA), a non-racial organization, was not prepared to accept affiliation on terms offered by SAONGA. In 1961 SASA launched a campaign 'Operation Sonreis' (Support Only Non-Racial Events In Sport), and sportsmen were urged to boycott games conducted on racial lines.<sup>2</sup> The South African Government in October of that year banned Dennis Brutus, the secretary of the SASA from attending gatherings.

### *Interracial competitions*

In June 1960, the Minister of the Interior stated the Government's policy:

'The Government does not favour interracial team competition within the borders of the Union and will discourage such competition taking place as being contrary to the traditional policy of the Union—as accepted by all races in the Union.'<sup>3</sup>

A White team cannot compete against a non-White team, nor can a White sprinter run at the same race as a non-White sprinter.

### *The participation of non-White players in games played on fields in all-White districts*

There seems to be in South Africa some confusion as to whether or not individual non-White players could play on fields in all-White districts. Technically both the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1958, and the Group Areas Act would apply, but it could be argued that all that was legally necessary was that the non-White player must be provided with 'separate amenities'.

1. *Guardian* (United Kingdom), 9 June 1964.

2. See also below, 'International reactions'.

3. Here quoted from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1961*, op. cit., p. 273.



This is illustrated by the Papwa Cases.

In 1963 and 1964, the Indian golfer, Sewsunker Sewgolum Papwa was invited to play in several championships. The golf officials considered that there was no need for a special permit to enable him to play, although he could not enter the club house. He and another coloured player, playing in the Open at Bloemfontein, were provided with a tent, later replaced by a caravan, as a rest room. They were not invited to an official civic reception arranged for the rest of the golfers.<sup>1</sup>

In 1966, the Ministry of Planning refused Papwa a permit to play in the Western Province Open, on the grounds that, in future, permits would only be issued to non-Whites to play in tournaments in which they had previously taken part. In line with this decision, however, Papwa was issued a permit to take part in the Natal Open in which Papwa had played before.<sup>2</sup>

### *Composition of foreign teams visiting South Africa*

The South African Government's policy of apartheid was to be enforced not only with regard to South African teams inside or outside South Africa, it was also to be imposed on foreign teams visiting South Africa. The New Zealand All Blacks Rugby team was due to visit South Africa in 1967, as part of a series of rugby matches between the countries that had gone on over some years. New Zealand proposed to include in its team two Maoris, one a representative of the Maori Advisory Board on the New Zealand Rugby Council, and the other a member of the All Blacks team which had toured Great Britain. There was some speculation that South Africa would accept the New Zealand proposal that Maoris should be included in the visiting team, either by ignoring the fact, or by declaring the Maoris White for the occasion.<sup>3</sup>

However, Dr. Verwoerd made a public statement: 'Like we subject ourselves to their customs, we expect that when other countries visit us they will respect ours and they will adapt themselves to ours.'<sup>4</sup>

The All Blacks decided that they would not tour South Africa in 1967.

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, op. cit.

2. *Cape Times*, 8 and 10 January 1966.

3. *The Times*, London, 4 September 1965. *Guardian*, 2 April 1965.

4. *The Times*, London, 7 September 1965. *Guardian*, 7 September 1965. *Star*, Johannesburg, 6 September 1965. *Guardian*, 7 September 1965.

*Mixed attendances*

The Proclamation R.26 of 12 February 1965 made special permits necessary in any public game. In addition, the Minister of Community Development said in March 1963 that if a sports stadium is situated in a predominantly White area, it should in general be used by Whites only. Exceptions might be made, by permit, for non-Whites to attend provincial or international matches, provided that separate seating entrances and toilet facilities were available. Permits might be granted for Coloureds and Asians to attend matches below the provincial level at grounds so situated that White residents of the area would not be disturbed. The Minister of Community Development and the Minister of Planning handles permits for Coloureds and Asians, while the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development handles applications for Africans.

In reply to Mrs. Helen Suzman's (Progressive Party) questions in the Assembly, the Minister of Community Development gave the following details on applications for permits:

Department of Community Development, 12 February to 9 April:

386 applications received, 207 granted, 192 refused or outstanding.

Department of Planning, 12 February to 4 May: 150 granted, 16 refused, number outstanding not stated.

Department of Bantu Administration and Development, 12 February to 18 June: 104 applications received, 63 granted, 36 refused, 5 outstanding.<sup>1</sup>

There seemed to be no clear idea, even in government circles, as to how Proclamation R.26 was to be interpreted. There was no indication as to what was to be considered a 'place of public entertainment' and less as to which of the population groups in a given area would be racially qualified to attend a particular place. The Minister of Community Development favoured defining this by reference to the population group in the area. Moreover, the Ministry of Bantu Administration and Development was not granting permits for Africans to watch club matches in Cape Town, and Africans were banned from attending football matches at the Rand Stadium, Johannesburg.<sup>2</sup>

There could be specific bans on non-Whites attending special matches. Thus the South African Government barred non-White

1. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 30 March 1965, Vol. 14, col. 3659-60; 9 April 1965, Vol. 14, col. 4348; 4 May 1965, Vol. 14, col. 5267-8, 5711; 18 June 1965, Vol. 15, col. 8600.

2. *Star*, Johannesburg, 13 and 20 March 1965. *Post*, 16 March 1965.



spectators from attending the South African open golf championship in Johannesburg, in spite of the fact that Papwa was known to have a considerable non-White following.<sup>1</sup>

### *International reactions*

As part of 'Operation Sonreis' (see 'Mixed teams' above) SASA wrote to the International Olympic Committee asking it to request that SAONGA ensure that its constituent bodies offer membership to all South Africans on a basis of equality.

At the Baden-Baden meeting in October 1963, the International Olympic Committee passed a resolution that SAONGA should be asked to make a firm declaration of its acceptance of the Olympic Code. SAONGA was to get from the South African Government some guarantee of a change of policy with regard to colour discrimination in sport, failing which, SAONGA would be debarred from entering a team in the Olympic Games. SAONGA made some attempts to comply with this regulation: it arranged for separate games for Whites and for non-Whites but several non-Whites were provisionally selected.

At this stage the South African Minister of the Interior made a press statement reiterating the Government's policy. He emphasized that the participation in international or world sports competitions by mixed teams representative of South Africa as a whole could under no circumstances be approved. SAONGA would have to satisfy the Government that it had complied with the 'traditional South African custom in sport' before the Government would grant permission. The President of SAONGA informed the International Olympic Committee about the situation. South Africa could not take part in the Tokyo Games of 1964.

The International Table Tennis Federation refused to recognize the all-White South African Table Tennis Association as the negotiating body for South African table tennis but recognized instead the South African Table Tennis Board, which, while technically non-White, permitted White players to join if they desired to do so.

South Africa was asked to leave the International Football Association.

There were also self-imposed bans which followed the Government's policy.

1. *Guardian*, United Kingdom, 15 February 1966.

In international cricket, a West Indian team would not be able to take part in cricket in South Africa, since the West Indian cricket team has been traditionally interracial. In 1959, the Santos (Brazil) football team, also interracial, refused to visit South Africa when informed that its Black members would not be allowed on playing grounds.

The trend is clear: in sport, as in drama, as in entertainment, South Africa (Black and White) is becoming increasingly isolated from the rest of the world.

### *Beaches*

Racial zoning extends to beach provision. In Durban, beaches for Indians and Coloureds have been developed.

In December 1965, the Minister of Planning, Mr. Haak, announced that the beaches of the municipal areas, Milverton, Cape Town, Simonstown, Fish Hock, the Strand and Gordon's Bay should be allocated to different population groups.

Certain beaches, traditionally used by non-Whites, but which were situated opposite to areas reserved for White residential districts, were now to be used by Whites only.

While the Milverton Town Council unanimously decided to comply with the Minister's wishes, the Amenities and Finance Committee of the Cape Town City Council recommended that the council decline to accept Haak's decisions, contesting his powers to force local authorities to erect notice boards reserving beaches for the exclusive use of any group.

The council, moreover, did not agree that beach segregation was necessary, and if segregation became inevitable they wished 'a more equitable distribution of beaches for various races'.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Oscar Wostheim, M.P.C., analysing the allocation of beaches, was reported as saying: 'Any worth-while beach allocated to non-Whites has been allocated for only a limited period. . . .' Beaches formerly used by the Coloured group were no longer available for them, while 'Starting from the best part of the beach at Nuizenberg, the beaches have been arranged in a chromatic spectrum, starting with Whites and ending with Africans who have the worst beach. In between is found the Chinese (nearest the Whites), Indians, and Coloured'.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Cape Times*, 14 January 1966.

2. *Cape Times*, 8 January 1965.



## 8 Assumptions and reality

The assumption behind the division of South Africa into separate cultural groups is that it is possible to define a group in which the racial always coincides with the cultural; that, furthermore, it is possible for groups to live a culturally self-contained existence; that the custom of South Africa has always been that of cultural difference and White supremacy and that this situation can continue indefinitely in the future.

To this should be added the assumption of some supporters of apartheid that it is possible under separate development to provide facilities equal in every way for each of the population groups of South Africa and that the division into racial, cultural and linguistic groups is likely to prevent race friction.

It is to be doubted that self-contained cultural groups have ever existed for any length of time. Certainly the areas of greatest cultural activity in the past have been areas where differing cultures have met and borrowed from each other. Nor is this borrowing foreign to South Africa.

The Afrikaans language itself has borrowed heavily both from Dutch, from Hottentot and from English.

South Africans have together shared the jazz culture of the urban districts, have participated in the same games and have shared in the creation and the enjoyment of literary and artistic events.

Governing the culture of South Africans has been not only their various traditional pasts, but the culture springing up in urban milieux and modified by access to sources of culture and information outside of the community. This action has been going on whatever the racial background of the South African concerned. Nat Nakasa expressed this:

'Who are my people? I am supposed to be a Pondo, but I don't even know the language of that tribe. I was brought up in a Zulu-speaking home, my mother being a Zulu. Yet I can no longer think in Zulu because that language cannot cope with the demands of our day. I could not, for instance, discuss negritude in Zulu. . . . I have never owned an assegai or any of the magnificent tribal shields. . . . I am more at home with an Afrikaner than with a West African. I am a South African. . . . "My people" are South Africans. Mine is the history of the Great Trek. Gandhi's passive resistance in Johannesburg, the wars of Atewayo and the dawn raids which gave us the treason trials in 1956. All these are South African things. They are a part of me. . . .'<sup>1</sup>

Nor can it always be truly said that the custom of South Africa has always meant a complete separation of the races. The arguments between Cape Town and the Central Government over library facilities equal in every way for each of the population groups of South Africa prove this. As far as entertainment halls, operas and theatre facilities are concerned, this would be too expensive and uneconomical for private enterprise and would depend on the good will and the finance of the Central Government. In the case of libraries and of museums it would be impossible to duplicate unique items and prohibitively expensive to duplicate many books. Indeed, for reference materials, there has in fact been very little real attempt to do this.

What has 'culture' meant to the ordinary African South African? It has not meant producing great literature, which few people in any country can produce, but it has meant participating together—and sometimes with friends from other racial groups—in the jazz groups, in the *shebeen* parties, it meant reading the *Drum* and indulging in the anti-governmental jibes that form part of many societies. These types of activities lend themselves less easily to assessment than certain more formalized types of activities; they are less documented, even though they are important to a larger group of people. It is these that are heaviest hit by the Urban Areas Act which provides for removal of Africans to the urban outskirts, by Proclamation R.26 which makes interracial mixing without elaborate facilities for separating the audiences impossible, and by the political censorship which makes anti-governmental joking risky.

1. Nat Nakasa, 'It's Difficult to Decide my Identity', written 20 June 1964. Reprinted in the *Classic Quarterly*, Johannesburg, Vol. 2, 1966, No. 1, p. 50.



This report on the effects of apartheid on culture has left aside the whole problem of informal and personal contacts between people and private entertaining. That these are important in the ordinary daily living together of any people, no one will deny. The extent to which they can take place in South Africa is limited by the regulations governing eating together outside the home, staying overnight in named areas or in getting permission to visit 'locations'. It would be impossible, for example, for a racially mixed group of South Africans to have tea or coffee together in any public place in the Republic.

Besides this, the whole atmosphere of mistrust between people, the basic suppositions of the superiority and inferiority of racial groups, the difficult political problems, the suspicion that government-paid informers exist, make meaningful human relationships not only across colour groups, but within groups themselves, difficult to maintain.

As long as the present situation continues one thing is certain, South African culture (for Whites and non-Whites) will become increasingly less creative.

Cultural isolation is a high price to pay for separateness.

# IV. Information

'Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.'

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights



# 1 The legal framework

In Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, freedom of information, based on freedom of opinion, is asserted under its double aspect: the freedom to inform and the freedom to be informed. The object of Part IV is to examine how and to what extent these freedoms have been affected by apartheid.

Freedom of the press is part of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Although not guaranteed by a specific constitutional act, the law, judicial decisions, proclamations and rules, state clearly that freedom of the press is officially held and affirmed by the Government of South Africa. It should not however be forgotten that freedom of information for all citizens is linked to the possession of political rights and may only be exercised effectively by those who fully possess these rights. It may be, and is, often restricted by legislation but this is only justified where any curtailment of the rights of the individual ensures the recognition of and the respect due to the rights of others, or where the just demand of the moral or public order requires it. These limits to freedom of information are readily recognized in any democratic society.

Consequently laws and regulations do not only affirm freedom of information, they may also reduce progressively the constitutive elements of liberty. In South Africa, a number of legislative acts, decisions, juridical regulations and administrative orders in fact restrain freedom of information, by denying the right to discuss certain opinions and to partake in certain types of activities, or by instituting a general control over publications. A summary analysis of this network of legal texts and procedures, shows clearly that they are for the most part inspired by the desire to consolidate the practice of apartheid, or to put it into effect. Besides, the organization of the different means

of information is in fact often done in such a way as to give to the policy of apartheid the support, the framework and the means necessary for its development.

Some of the present restrictions on freedom of information in South Africa were foreshadowed in the legislation and in the customs even before the National Government came to power. Examples of these can be seen in the Native Administrative Act of 1927 (no. 38) which instituted a special censorship of films in the territories then reserved for Africans, and which prohibited words or acts that could encourage hostility between 'the natives' and 'Europeans'. The Entertainments (Censorship) Act of 1931 (no. 28) established a censorship board for films and public entertainment, one of the duties of which was to eradicate scenes of intermingling between Whites and non-Whites. The powers of censorship of this board were extended by the Customs Act of 1955 to cover the import of printed publications.

After 1948 there was a considerable reinforcement of these regulations, and the enactment of others.

The first important act was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (no. 44) which gave of communism such a wide definition as to endanger freedom of information.

Article 2(b) and (d) defines 'communism' as:

- (b) '(any doctrine or scheme) which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, by unlawful acts or omission or by the threat of such acts or omissions or by means which include the promotion of disturbance or disorder, or such acts or omissions or threat; or
- (d) 'which aims at the encouragement of feeling of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Union the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievement of any object referred to in paragraph (b).'

The powers which this law gives to government authorities and administrators both as far as persons are concerned and with regard to the press are extremely wide.

The government may prohibit any publication which it considers 'serves mainly as a means for expressing views or conveying information, the publication of which is calculated to further the achievements of any of the objects of communism' (as it is defined by the act). An amendment of 1965 (Act no. 97) permits any journal or periodical to



be banned, if, in the opinion of the authorities, it continues or replaces, whether or not under the same title, a publication that was formerly banned.

But the 'banning' goes further than the suppression of publications: people may be served with banning notices, and the restrictions placed on their activities affect access to or the right to disseminate, information.<sup>1</sup> The minister has the power under the act to prohibit an individual from attending a particular meeting or playing any part in certain organizations or taking part in certain activities for a period of time (Section 5 modified). The minister may prohibit for a period of time any person from living in a given area, assign him to a determined residence (forbidding all communication with others or visiting) if he is convinced that such a person defends, facilitates or encourages the realization of communism (Section 10 amended). All acts deliberately done in order to defend or facilitate or encourage the realization of communism are 'criminal offences' (Section 11).

The amendment of 1965 authorizes the minister to apply Section 11 to all persons resident in the republic who encourage in the republic or outside of it the realization of any objective of communism, or who advise on, or engage in, activities which may facilitate this accomplishment.

The act (Section 12) declares that a person is presumed to be a member of a banned organization if he attends one of its meetings or defends or encourages the realization of its objectives, or if he distributes any periodicals or other documents of that organization. The Minister of Justice may authorize any civil servant to inquire into any publication which the minister has reason to presume illegal, likely to be prohibited, and to give to this civil servant all powers to search, requisition and seize these documents.

By the amendment of 1962 (Act no. 76) it was made an offence, without the consent of the Minister of Justice or except for the purpose of any proceedings in a court of law, to record, reproduce, print, publish, or disseminate any speech, utterance, writing or part thereof made anywhere at any time by persons who have been prohibited from attending gatherings. An amendment of 1965 extended this to

1. There are at least twenty-five different kinds of bans, but all banned persons are automatically prohibited from attending gatherings, from being members of thirty-five listed organizations and from having anything to do with the preparation, publication and dissemination of any book, periodical or pamphlet. Their sayings or writings may not be published. The banning orders are generally issued for periods of five years. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965.

speeches by members of organizations declared unlawful and to all other persons, in the republic or elsewhere, whom the minister considers are advocating or defending the achievement of any of the objectives of communism or any act or omission calculated to further the achievements of any such objective. The minister may, without notice to those concerned, declare by notice in the *Gazette* that it has been rendered illegal for their speeches or writings to be quoted in South Africa.

A general system of control over the importation of publications has been established by the Customs Act of 1955 (no. 55). It prohibits the importation into the Republic of South Africa of any goods which are 'indecent' or 'obscene' or objectionable on any grounds whatsoever, unless imported for research purposes by educational institutions under a permit issued by the Minister of the Interior. The final decision lies with the minister, who ought at all times to consult the Board of Censors appointed by the Entertainments (Censorship) Act, 1931 (no.28) before his decision is given.

The Publications and Entertainment Act no. 25 of 1963, incorporating the Customs Act, 1955, and the Post Office Act, 1958, introduced a method of general control over all forms of publications. This act instituted a Publications Control Board whose members, chairman and vice-chairman are appointed by the Minister of the Interior. The board may, if it considers it necessary, set up a committee to examine and report to it on any publication. This committee is presided over by a member of the board and consists of at least two other persons chosen by the board. The control of the board also extends to objects, films and public entertainments.

The term 'publication' includes all newspapers which are not published by a publisher who is a member of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa (who had drawn up a 'code of conduct'), and all books, periodicals, pamphlets, writings, typescripts, photographs, prints, records, etc., available to the public.

Publications are considered undesirable if they are indecent, obscene, offensive or harmful to public morals, blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the republic, if they bring any section of the inhabitants of the republic into ridicule, or contempt; if harmful to the relations between any sections of the population of the republic, or if prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or to the peace and good order. The board exercises the powers of control attributed to the Minister of the



Interior under Section 21 of the Customs Act. These provisions do not apply to bona fide judicial proceedings, to any publication of a technical, scientific or professional nature (bona fide) intended for the advancement of or for use in any particular profession or branch of arts, literature, or science or any matter in any publication of a bona fide religious character (Section 4). Only booksellers with a special authorization may import paperbacks.

At the request of any person and (except in the cases of a person to whom any function has been assigned by this act or the Customs Act, 1955) upon payment of a prescribed fee, the board may proceed to examine any publication or object and to state whether that publication or object is, in the opinion of the board, undesirable or not. The decisions of the board are published in the *Gazette*.

The board may by notice in the *Gazette* forbid the importation, except under special permit, of publications from a specified publisher, or which deal with any specified subject, if, in the opinion of the board, those publications or objects are undesirable or likely to be undesirable.

The board takes the place of the Board of Censorship established by the Entertainment (Censorship) Act of 1931, and exercises a general power of censorship over films.

No film may be shown to the public unless it has been approved. The board may approve or reject a film unconditionally, or approve a film subject to the condition that such film shall be shown only to a particular group of persons or only to persons belonging to a particular race or class, or the board may order portions of the film to be cut.

The law forbids the approval of any film which may have the effect of disturbing the peace or good order, prejudicing the general welfare or affecting the relations between any section of the population of the republic.

An appeal against the decision of the board may be made to the Minister of the Interior whose decision is final.

The board may prohibit any public entertainment; an appeal to the courts may be made against the decision of the board.

It is important to underline the severity of the penalties under this act. For the first conviction a fine from R.300 to R.500 is imposed or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or both. For the second conviction, a fine of between R.1,000 and R.2,000 and imprisonment for a period of not less than six months.

The court may confiscate any publication or film when an offence is committed.

The Official Secrets Act, of 1956, was amended in 1965. The present text considers it an offence, punishable by a fine of not over R.1,000 or an imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven years, or both, for any person to be in possession of, or to publish directly or indirectly, documents or information related to war material or any military or police matter, and to communicate such documents or information, if this is likely to be prejudicial to the safety or interest of the State.

This new act has been opposed in parliament and objected to by many newspapers. The President of the South African Society of Journalists declared that, in his opinion, this measure considerably restrains the freedom of the Press.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Prisons Amendment Act, no. 75, of 1965, it is an offence to sketch or photograph a prison or part thereof, a prisoner, or the burial of an executed prisoner, or to cause such a sketch or photograph to be published, or to publish any false information concerning the behaviour or the life in prison of any convicted or ex-convicted person. Financial laws, such as the 'Newspaper Imprint Act' and the 'Sabotage Act', give to the Minister of Justice the right to demand a deposit of £10,000 for any publication which he considers may be banned. This sum may be confiscated if the publication is, in fact, suppressed.

Finally there is no positive statement in favour of freedom of the press in the official declaration which foresees progressive self-government in the 'Bantu homelands'. This is not mentioned in the constitutional law of the Transkei (Act no. 48 of 1963). On the contrary, Article 39 excludes from the competence of the Legislative Assembly of the Transkei every matter related to international relations, the entry of persons other than Transkeian citizens into the Transkei and postal, telegraph, telephone, radio and television services.

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1. *Natal Mercury*, 13 April 1965.



## 2 The application of the law



The *Annual Survey of South African Law*, 1963 states that there were 7,500 banned publications.<sup>1</sup> According to the Vice-President of the Publications Control Board 466 publications were banned during the first half year of 1965.<sup>2</sup>

It would be unfair to attribute the banning of all these publications to the policy of apartheid. Many have been banned because they were pornographic, indecent, or represented a threat to the public order or to the security of the State. It is in this last category, however, that it becomes difficult to judge which decisions have been exclusively dictated by security reasons and which by apartheid. The impression is conveyed that certainly some of these publications could only have been banned for this last reason. Examples are the banning under the Suppression of Communism Act of the weekly, *The Guardian*, and its successors *Advance* and *New Age*.

With regard to persons, the *Gazette* dated 6 November 1964 listed the names of 303 persons banned under the same act. A government notice no. 296 of February 1963 published a list of journalists banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

As a result of the banning of their main collaborators, the weeklies *Spark* and *Torch* went out of print. In 1965 *Forum* went out of print. Ralph Horowitz in the last editorial published in the magazine wrote that in the present climate of South Africa there is little place for a protest periodical.

Among the journalists who have been arrested under the 90-day

1. Op. cit., p. 52.

2. *Sunday Times*, 6 September 1965.

detention act<sup>1</sup> are Ruth First (*New Age*), Margaret Fint (*Sunday Times*) and Paul Trewhela (*Rand Daily Mail*). In 1960, Ronald Segal, editor of *Africa South*, was prohibited from participating in any meeting for five years. As a result of harassments, searching and banning, the *New African* and its collaborators decided to publish it in exile. The importation of the periodical was then forbidden under the Customs Act. In July 1965, the homes and offices of journalists of the liberal press were searched. The editor in chief of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Laurence Gandar, and one of his best known reporters, Benjamin Pogrand, had their passports taken away from them after they had written articles on the conditions of life in prison.

The case of the African journalist, Nat Nakasa, who has written for *Drum* and for the literacy review *Classic* is well known. The South African Government refused to issue him with a passport so that he could benefit from a scholarship at Harvard. He was issued with a one-way permit and forced to go into exile.

### 3 The press

In South Africa, there are twenty-one daily newspapers, sixteen published in English with a combined daily circulation of 746,800 and five

1. Section 17 of the General Law Amendment Act, no. 37 of 1963, provides that as from 1 May 1963 a commissioned officer of the police may without warrant arrest any person whom he suspects has committed or intends to commit sabotage or any offence under the Suppression of Communism or Unlawful Organization Acts, or who in the police officer's opinion is in possession of any information relating to such an offence. A person so arrested is detained in custody until, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police, he has replied satisfactorily to all questions put to him. No one may be detained for more than ninety days on any particular occasion. See *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965, p. 59 ff.



in Afrikaans with a combined daily circulation of 165,500.<sup>1</sup> The percentage, then, is roughly 8.8 copies per 100 inhabitants. The percentage is still considerably less for the African population, where only a very small number has access to the press. Six dailies issue special weekend editions. These have a circulation considerably higher than the dailies. Figures are even higher for the six Sunday newspapers published in the Transvaal and in the Natal Province.<sup>2</sup> But although two English-language Sunday newspapers and the Afrikaans Sunday papers have a nation-wide circulation, this circulation is unequally distributed between the various population groups.

As far as the press designed for African readers is concerned, *World Communications* reports: 'The number of Bantu papers is constantly growing, and there has been a significant increase in the number of vernacular editions of established English-language periodicals. Some are published in several vernaculars'.<sup>3</sup> A daily, launched in Johannesburg in 1962—a White-owned newspaper with an African editor and intended for African readers—had a first-day circulation of 16,000 copies.<sup>4</sup>

The development of the press specially designed for Africans is not questioned. The creation by missionaries of a newspaper in the Zulu language—*Imbo Zabantsindu*—was followed by the creation of the Bantu Press group in 1931. This press now consists of three groups: the Afrikaanse Pers Beperk which publishes *Zonk*, the magazine *Bona* (with a monthly circulation of around 83,000) and *Imbo Zabantsindu*, with a circulation of 16,000. The Post newspaper group publishes the *Weekly Post* and the monthly *Drum*, with a total circulation of 165,000. Bantu Press publishes the afternoon daily *The World* with a circulation, in December 1965, of 73,109.

There are two Indian and one Moslem newspapers designed mainly for the Asian group.

The Coloureds have access to either the Afrikaans-language newspapers, or the English-language newspapers.

There exists nevertheless, in spite of this increase, a clear disproportion between the circulation of English- and Afrikaans-language newspapers compared with newspapers designed for Africans, and particularly with those written in the vernacular (mother tongue).

1. *World Communications, Press, Radio, Television, Film*, 2nd ed., Paris, Unesco, 1966, p. 117.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

This is particularly so if the population figures for the various groups are taken into account.<sup>1</sup>

Important as is quantity in studying the effectiveness of the press as a channel of information, two other factors are no less important: the way the press in fact functions, and the conditions under which it functions.

### *Organization*

As in many other countries, ownership in South Africa is strongly concentrated. The Government Commission of Inquiry into the Press, set up in 1951, was prompted by the need felt in some quarters that concentration in the English-language press should be studied. The first part of the report of this committee established that the *Argus* and the South African Associated Newspapers groups between them dominate the English-language daily and Sunday press in South Africa.

The main Afrikaans-language dailies are linked to the National Party, and prominent members in the present government sit on their boards.

Since 1933 the major portion of the newspaper press designed for Africans has been controlled by persons who have large interests in the South African mining industry, or by the *Afrikaanse Pers Beperk*.

The concentration of the press is reinforced by the monopoly of control which the South African Press Association enjoys both as to the collection and in the distribution of news.

The concentration of the press is certainly not the result of apartheid. What is important to this study, particularly with regard to the Afrikaans-language press, and the press designed for Africans, is who controls it, and what interests (as far as the policy of apartheid is concerned) they represent. The Minister of Education distributes 200,000 copies of *Bona* free of charge to African schools. A cursory glance at the numerous magazines produced for Africans shows that particular types of publications are favoured: those that, if they do not openly favour the policy of apartheid, at least do not question it.

Commercial advertising, special concessions, certain exemptions from taxation which the newspaper monopolies have access to, make it difficult for newspapers owned outside of this circle to come into

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1. See Introduction, Table 2.



existence. Again this is not the result of apartheid—but it makes the control of dissent easier.

While newspapers are still published, particularly in the English-language press, which criticize aspects of the government's policy, it is worthy to note that of all the publications existing in 1960 which could be considered hostile to the framework of discrimination and apartheid, only one survived in 1965, the bi-monthly *Contact* founded in 1958 by Patrick Duncan. *Contact*, itself, had been subject to many harassments, including the banning of four of its editors, and the detention of one of them. There exist, of course, various underground broadsheets, for example the *African Communist* and *Focus*.

The English-language press has, generally speaking, defended liberal principles. Certain newspapers—notably the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Cape Times*—have opposed the methods of control, the banning measures that have been put into effect to safeguard the policy of apartheid, as well as many of the measures designed to implement certain aspects of racial zoning. A reading of these newspapers over a period of time, however, as well as an examination of both the presentation and the slant of articles, suggest that criticism is becoming blunted, or at least less outspoken.

This may be due to particular repressive measures taken against some of the journalists and to the present political climate, rather than to a change of ideological commitment.

Criticism of aspects of the government's policy has not been confined to English-language newspapers; it is appropriate to note that *Die Burger* sometimes takes a moderate or reserved position *vis-à-vis* government measures.

### *Professional activities*

The policy of apartheid also affects the type of employment open to Africans in the press. There are a number of Africans in the lower employment brackets in the Bantu press, but they have no real say in the policy of the newspapers. What is remarkable is that so few dailies in South Africa include non-Whites on their editorial staff. The various measures that affect the African population directly, the pass laws, laws governing the length of time that they may stay outside particular areas, the problems of access to particular information, the impossibility of sharing meaningful contacts with either the civil service or Members of Parliament, make it virtually impossible for an African to become a successful journalist.

The newspapers which were most willing to employ a multiracial journalistic service have disappeared, while Nat Nakasa who wrote for the *Classic* and the *Rand Daily Mail* was forced into exile.

The problems of getting first-hand information about the 'homelands' affects White journalists as well as non-White, since only 'citizens' of these 'homelands' may go there without special permit.

It was mentioned earlier (Part IV, Chapter 1) that certain provisions of the Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963 are not applicable to newspapers published by a member of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa, which had accepted a 'code of conduct'.

The code begins, as one would expect, by declarations in favour of freedom of the press and 'individual liberties'. It is to ensure these liberties that the press should maintain a high standard. The code enumerates the rules of professional behaviour. The press should avoid excesses, or the use of 'undesirable material' both in the presentation and in the diffusion of its news. This final advice is important as far as this study is concerned: if the press wishes to preserve its traditional right of criticism, its commentaries should take due cognizance of the complex racial problems of South Africa.

A Board of Reference ensures that this code is respected, and may investigate, after having received a written complaint, any infringement of the code and, if it considers that the code has been broken, may order a published correction. Adherence to the code and to the board's jurisdiction is voluntary, and anyone disagreeing with it may withdraw by written notice to the board.

It is interesting to note that the South African Society of Journalists has not accepted the code.<sup>1</sup>

A far more drastic reorganization of the press has been suggested by the Press Commission, which had been set up in 1950, and which sent in its second report to parliament on 11 May 1964.<sup>2</sup>

The commission censured overseas newspapers, including *The Times* of London and the *New York Times*, for their alleged hostility to Afrikaner nationalists and claimed that many reports were written as propaganda against the White people of South Africa and with little regard to South Africa's historical background and its linguistic and racial plurality. It then went on to recommend that a statutory

1. The South African Society of Journalists accepts Asians and Coloureds as members, but may not accept Africans, because of the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

2. The first report was submitted in April 1962.



Press Council be established 'for the control and discipline' of the press. This Press Council would consist of representatives of proprietors and newspapermen of journals published in South Africa, representatives of the public to be elected by two electoral colleges, one Afrikaans and one English, and representatives of the government and of the main opposition party.<sup>1</sup> The participation of non-Whites on this council is not mentioned.

The commission recommended that the council should maintain a register of approved journalists, and that only those journalists who were granted registration should have authority to cable news overseas. All press cables should be filed with the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and should be available for public inspection for 48 hours after their dispatch. This council should have powers to impose fines, to reprimand and to order publication of its judgements and there should be no right of appeal against its judgements.<sup>2</sup>

The recommendations of the council have not been put into force, but they have provoked a great deal of discussion both in South Africa and abroad.

Writing in the *Cape Argus*, S. J. Marais Steyn M.P. argued that 'should the government accept this recommendation for a Press Council, every report emanating from South Africa to the outside world will be suspect'.<sup>3</sup> *Die Burger*, less outspoken in its criticism, pointed out that, if this council was set up, its powers to punish infringements of a code of conduct would be 'a remarkable jurisdiction to entrust to a body of laymen'.<sup>4</sup>

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1965, p. 43-4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

3. *Cape Argus*, 15 May 1964.

4. Here quoted from 'Nationalist viewpoint', *Cape Times*, 13 May 1964.

## 4 Radio and cinema

It is generally agreed that the radio is of primary importance as a channel of communication both within a country, and with the outside world. This is particularly so in countries with a large percentage of illiteracy where it can be an instrument for education and for social and cultural development.

The South African Broadcasting Service is a State monopoly entrusted to the South African Broadcasting Corporation (S.A.B.C.) by the Broadcasting Act, no. 22 of 1936.

It is an autonomous organization placed under the management and control of a board of governors appointed by the Governor-General, who also names the chairmen and vice-chairmen of this board.

Originally, the board was to 'frame and carry out its broadcasting programmes with due regard to the interests of both English and Afrikaans culture',<sup>1</sup> but, by Act no. 49 of 1960, the government instituted a Bantu Programme Control Board, to be appointed by the Governor-General, and amended Section 14 of the principal act to read 'English, Afrikaans and Bantu Culture'.<sup>2</sup>

There are in South Africa 45 transmitters,<sup>3</sup> 1,140,000 wireless receivers, and 10,700 wired receivers. This gives a percentage of 6.9 per 100 inhabitants.

There are three principal programmes: English, Afrikaans and commercial, to which should be added a Bantu programme and a weekly programme for Indians.

In 1952 a rediffusion service was started for Africans. In 1959 there

1. Act no. 22 of 1936, Section 14.

2. Act no. 49 of 1960, Section 13 *bis*.

3. *World Communications, Press, Radio, Television, Film*, 2nd ed., Paris, Unesco, 1966, p. 117.



were 12,450 subscribers.<sup>1</sup> At the end of 1963 there were 1,153,504 subscribers.<sup>2</sup>

The personnel of Radio Bantu comprised 200 African technicians, white personnel only acting as 'advisers'.

The programmes deal with information and education (a school programme in five Bantu languages is intended for 250,000 children).

South Africa has considered it necessary to counteract the propaganda broadcast by countries outside of South Africa. To this effect, the South African Government has paid increasing attention to the development of its overseas broadcasts. Programmes of the Voice of South Africa are to state South Africa's case.<sup>3</sup>

The centralization of radio, and, above all, the creation of special programmes for Africans, is certainly one facet of the policy of apartheid. (One may mention, in that respect, that the President of the S.A.B.C. as well as the Minister of Post and Telecommunications, were, in 1965, both members of the Broederbond.)

The S.A.B.C. may legally constitute an autonomous public service, but some have affirmed that it is primarily a government organ, fully supporting government policy, under tight State control.<sup>4</sup> A private member's bill was tabled by Mr. E. G. Malan in 1963 condemning the refusal of the government to supply parliament with full information on the activities of the S.A.B.C. and asking that a commission should be set up to inquire into among other things, the corporation's policies, bias in news reports and political talks, the use of the radio for political propaganda and indoctrination and the work of the Bantu Programme Control Board.<sup>5</sup>

That the S.A.B.C. favours apartheid can be seen most clearly by the slant of its programmes: Current Affairs is prepared by, among others, the editor of *Die Vaderland*,<sup>6</sup> it refused to broadcast, as it would normally do, any commentary on the golf tournament in which Papwa Sewgolum (Indian) had taken part.<sup>7</sup> A spokesman of the S.A.B.C. was reported as saying that in terms of the policy laid down by the

1. Ibid., p. 117.

2. *State of South Africa Yearbook*, 1965.

3. *Guardian* (United Kingdom), 28 November 1965.

4. See *The Times*, London, 23 October 1965, *Observer*, London, November 11 1962, *Sunday Express*, 15 November 1965.

5. House of Assembly Debates, *Hansard*, 21 March, Vol. 10, col. 3714, here quoted from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1963, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964, p. 280.

6. *Die Vaderland* is an Afrikaans newspaper linked to the National Party.

7. See also Part III, Chapter 7

S.A.B.C.'s Board of Governors, the corporation did not broadcast multiracial sport<sup>1</sup> in South Africa.

A television service was one of the objectives of the S.A.B.C. and provision for it was made in the Broadcasting Act of 1936, as amended (Article 12). But the government has always refused to implement this article. Its reasons were clearly stated in the course of a parliamentary debate.

The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs mentioned, among others, the following objections to television:

1. Communists and leftists would use television for their own purpose.
2. A large proportion of programmes from overseas contain the type of propaganda which showed the White men in a bad light.
3. The influence of such programmes would bring about the moral collapse of the White men in South Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Finally it should be remembered that the Transkeian Constitution expressly excludes the fields of radio and television from the competence of the Legislative Council of the Transkei.

There has been an attempt to stimulate the film industry in South Africa, including financial aid from the State.<sup>3</sup> Some films have been produced in Afrikaans, but most of the English-language films are still imported from the United Kingdom or from the United States of America. However, documentaries are produced and distributed by the Ministry of Education, and newsreels are also produced.

*World Communications* mentions an audience average of 55 million<sup>4</sup> representing an individual attendance of 4.4 per year. Government sources report that there are more than 400 cinemas not counting mobile and open-air cinemas.<sup>5</sup>

Cinemas in White areas are prohibited to non-Whites. It is difficult to measure the number of cinemas actually available to Africans in the absence of precise figures. The construction of new cinemas is planned for 'Bantu areas'.

Films for Africans are subjected to strict censorship. In most countries there is some censorship of films, but, in the Republic of South Africa, this is used as an instrument to further 'separate deve-

1. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1963, op. cit.

2. *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 May 1963, here quoted from *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1963. See also 'Only Radio', *Times Educational Supplement*, 27 March 1964.

3. *World Communications, Press, Radio, Television, Films*, 2nd ed., Paris, Unesco, 1966, p. 118.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Connaissez-vous l'Afrique du Sud?* December 1965, no. 58.



lopment'. The Censorship Board has the power to prohibit the showing of films (otherwise authorized) before any particular class or race. On many occasions the board has decided that, while a film may be shown in a non-White cinema, children of from 4 to 16 years and Africans may not be admitted. There is a tendency to bar from the general public any films which do not present non-Whites in an inferior position to Whites. 'Heaven's Above' with Peter Sellers was banned, because the producer had refused to cut scenes in which a non-White appeared on an equal footing with Whites. 'Blackboard Jungle' and 'I'll Cry Tomorrow' have also been banned. A scene in 'Show Boat' was cut because Ava Gardner mentioned her racial background. The films 'West Side Story', 'Cleopatra' and 'Spartacus' were banned for African audiences.

## 5 International news

It is one of the main wishes of the South African Government that international information should be slanted so as to conform with the policy of the government and particularly with its apartheid policy.

Everything has been done to prevent the introduction into the country of overseas information, judged from this point of view as 'undesirable'.

The Customs Act and the Publications and Entertainment Act include measures to hinder the action of journalists, and to limit the penetration of overseas broadcasts.

There is a long list of newspaper correspondents who have been expelled or have been refused visas.

A more discreet system, that of the issue of 'credential cards', permits the administrative authorities to control, restrain or suppress activities of foreign journalists. An example of this is the government's action in refusing visas to the 40 press and television representatives from the United States who were to accompany Robert Kennedy on his visit to South Africa. British journalists, who normally did not need a visa to work in South Africa, were requested to apply for a temporary alien's permit for the duration of their stay.<sup>1</sup>

The second report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Press is particularly revealing. This report was almost completely dedicated to the activities of correspondents (permanent or feature writers) of foreign press agencies.

Thus 75.95 per cent or 1,665,214 words cabled to British journals during the period of the commission's inquiry and which reported on the political and social situation of South Africa were judged as bad or very bad, giving a bad image of South Africa, as far as the racial situation was concerned.

News carried by Reuters, Associated Press, United Press International, and Agence France-Press was considered with few exceptions unfair, unobjective, angled and partisan.<sup>2</sup>

It is only fair to add that the commission's report contained attacks, not only on foreign journalists, but on the English-language press in South Africa, while the Nationalist press is hardly mentioned in the report.<sup>3</sup>

The South African Government distributes large quantities of free, well-illustrated brochures abroad to present its point of view. But it is, above all, in the area of broadcasting that its propaganda has increased over the past years.

Certain overseas radio services can broadcast at present with more powerful transmitters than the South African transmitters. And the growing number of transistor sets gives them a large audience. The world press stated that a law was being considered to forbid all aid given to radio stations considered as hostile to South Africa. The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs would be authorized to establish a list of all foreign radio stations whose broadcasts are contrary to the morals or the religion of the republic or a section of the population

1. *The Star*, Johannesburg, 28 May 1966.

2. *The Times*, London, 12 May 1964, *Guardian* (United Kingdom), 12 May 1964.

3. *Cape Times*, 13 May 1964 and 21 May 1964.



of the republic or prejudicial to the good of the republic.<sup>1</sup> Above all, the government is anxious to considerably increase its own means of propaganda. To do this, four transmitters of 250 Kw each should be and are being installed at Bloomand. They should broadcast in four main directions: (a) East and Central Africa and part of the Middle East; (b) West Africa and Western Europe; (c) North America, Australia and New Zealand; (d) South America, Central America, India and the Far East.

Inaugurating the first of these transmitters Dr. Verwoerd declared:

'This enterprise has become indispensable due to the propaganda attacks beamed to the African continent in 23 languages, of which seven are Bantu dialects. The aim of our radio message to the external world is to inform them exactly as to what happens here. . . . It is on the other hand necessary to explain that the only method of conciliation between the races rests in the process of their separate development at all levels.'<sup>2</sup>

1. See *La Correspondance de la Presse*, 18 August 1966.

2. Translated from *L'Afrique du Sud d'aujourd'hui*, November 1965.

## Conclusion

This report concludes most explicitly that in education, science, culture and information, apartheid violates, both in principle and in practice, the United Nations Charter, the Constitution of Unesco, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the standards which have been set by the international community in conventions, recommendations and declarations which have been adopted within the United Nations system.

Moreover, 'separate development', as practised within the Republic of South Africa, does not mean equality between various ethnic groups in any of the spheres with which Unesco is concerned. On the contrary, it is a policy of deliberate inequality built into the educational system, expressed in scientific and cultural activities, and underlined in the regulations governing access to information.

Apartheid not only is not an admissible answer to racial and group conflict but is itself the major source of this conflict. This is most serious in relationships between Whites and non-Whites, but the very heightening of group awareness, which is part of the aims of the apartheid system, should *per se* intensify hostilities between Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africa, and, by the separation of Africans into self-contained tribal units, create a tribal nationalism leading to increased intertribal rivalry.

The image of man—to whatever ethnic group he belongs or is made a part of—which results from the policy of apartheid in South Africa, is an image which is clearly opposite the one to which the community of nations is ethically and legally dedicated.

The ill effects of apartheid are not confined to the situation within South Africa; 'the practice of apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination constitute a threat to international peace and security



and are a crime against humanity', as stated in the resolution on 'Unesco's tasks in the light of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its twentieth session on questions relating to the liquidation of colonialism and racialism', which was adopted by the General Conference at its fourteenth session (November 1966).

The Secretary-General of the United Nations emphasized in an address on 3 February 1964: 'There is the clear prospect that racial conflict, if we cannot curb and finally eliminate it, will grow into a destructive monster compared to which the religious or ideological conflicts of the past and present will seem like small family quarrels. . . . This, for the take of all our children, whatever their race and colour, must not be permitted to happen.'

The group of experts, established by the Security Council resolution of 4 December 1963, warned that 'a race conflict starting in South Africa must affect race relations elsewhere in the world, and also, in its international repercussions, create a world danger of first magnitude'.

It is with the knowledge of such a danger, and with the full consciousness of Unesco's dedication to the dignity of man and to peace, that this report has been established.